

THE HISTORY
OF
DALHOUSIE COLLEGE
AND
UNIVERSITY.

BY
GEORGE PATTERSON, M. A.

The Alumni Association Prize Essay,
1887.



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HALIFAX, N. S.:
MORNING HERALD PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY.
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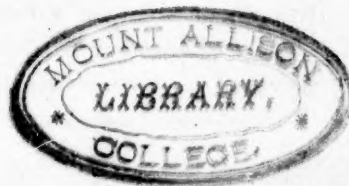
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PREFACE.

At their Annual Meeting in the Spring of 1886, the Alumni of Dalhousie College unanimously decided to offer a prize of the value of \$50 for the best history of their Alma Mater. The two chief sources of information for such a work are the Journals of the House of Assembly and the newspapers. These were not available to any one not resident in the City of Halifax. The writer of the Essay subsequently awarded the prize, because living in a country town, was prevented from beginning the task of collecting materials, etc., until late in the fall of 1886. By one of the conditions under which the prize was offered, the essays had to be in the hands of the Secretary of the Alumni Association before the 1st of March, 1887. With less than four months at his disposal, the author could devote no attention to the *manner* in which he wrote; but found his whole time taken up in collecting material and simply arranging it in chronological order. Great pains were taken to verify every statement made, with, the author flatters himself, a successful result; and thus, while regretting that his attempt at history should be marred by many faults of composition, he has the satisfaction of believing that in the humbler part of an historian's duty he has succeeded.

A 33093

THE AWARD.

H. W. C. BOAK, ESQ.,

Secy. Alumni Association of Dalhousie College.

SIR,

In accordance with the desire of the Executive Committee of the Alumni Association communicated by you, we have carefully examined the two Essays, having respectively the motto, "Doctrina vim promovet insitam" and "Froissart," and while finding the latter a readable and interesting account of the College, have no hesitation in recommending the former for the prize. We base our decision mainly on the following grounds:—(1.) The Essay with the motto, "Doctrina," etc., gives the history of the College up to the Act of 1863 in much greater detail than the one with the motto "Froissart." (2.) It gives much fuller reference to authorities, and these are original authorities: the Journals of the Legislature, minutes of the Board of Governors, newspapers of the day, etc.; whereas "Froissart's" account is largely based on published works. (3.) During the period when the proper functions of the College were suspended, there being neither teachers nor students, the essay to which we have given the preference, considers the Board of Governors as being the College, and accounts of their proceedings as the custom of the College, whereas "Froissart" during these periods brings into prominence rather the history of the building and the purposes for which it was used.

In conclusion we beg to state that the essay with the motto "Doctrina," etc., is not merely the better of the two, but in our opinion is itself well deserving of the prize, and admirably corresponds to the object which the Alumni Association seems to have had in view in offering the prize.

We have to honor to be,

Your obedient servants,

(Sgd.) JOHN FORREST.
" W. J. ALEXANDER.

DALHOUSIE COLLEGE,
March 23rd, 1887.

"Doctrina vim promobet insitam."

DALHOUSIE COLLEGE.

CHAPTER I.

War of 1812-14—Expedition against Castine—Lord Dalhousie.

In June, 1812, the United States declared war against Great Britain, and the latter retaliated in the following October. The war lasted, with varying success, for over two years. During this time the British Provinces were scenes of activity. The Canadas were several times invaded by the American forces. Nova Scotia, though often threatened, escaped attack, and was able to assist her sister Provinces along the St. Lawrence. On the 26th of August, 1814, an expedition left Halifax on a warlike errand. Its commanders were Sir John Sherbrooke and Admiral Griffith, both tried men and true in their special line of service. Its destination was Machias, Me. When two days out the leaders heard that an American frigate, the "Adams," had sailed up the river Penobscot, past Castine, to avoid being captured by them, and the news induced them to change their plans. Their course was altered, and the morning of September 1st saw them at anchor in front of Castine. Castine is a small town situated on a peninsula on the eastern side of the Penobscot river. At this time it was garrisoned by a company of regulars and a band of militia. When summoned to surrender, its governor boldly refused; but before the great guns of the fleet were fairly at work, he had repented of his rashness, and capitulated. The town was taken, it is worth while mentioning, with a loss to the British of only one man. The Americans probably suffered more severely. A force was immediately dispatched in search of the "Adams." She was found far up the river, seized and destroyed. Some merchant vessels that were with her shared the same fate. The towns of Hamden and Bangor, lying on the western side of the Penobscot, also fell into the hands of the British. A glance at a map of Maine and New Brunswick will show that the rivers Penobscot and St. Croix so converge near their sources as to make the large district that lies between them almost an island. Holding Castine, the key of the whole, as Sir John and his able coadjutor did, all of this section was theirs, with the exception of the fortified town of Machias and the country around it. In order then to complete the conquest, a division of the army, commanded by Colonel Pilkington, was sent to take Machias, if possible; and when, on September 11th, it succeeded in doing so, Sir John and Admiral Griffith were able to issue a proclamation declaring that they had taken formal possession in the name of His Britannic Majesty of all the eastern side of the Penobscot, and all the country lying between it and the boundary line of New Brunswick. A provisional government was at once established, with Lieutenant Gosselin in the gubernatorial chair. Castine was made the sole port of entry

for the newly acquired territory, and arrangements were perfected for collecting the import and export duties under tariff regulations similar to those of the adjoining provinces.* The war should, and in these days of sub-marine telegraphs, would, have ended with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent in the closing days of 1814; but the news of the peace did not reach America for some weeks. The English held Castine until the 26th of April, 1815, on which date they evacuated it, and came to Halifax, bringing with them some £12,000, the amount levied for customs, etc., during the seven months of their occupancy. When Lieutenant-Governor Gosselin's salary was paid there was left the sum of £10,750. Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a dispatch of October 10th, 1815, directed that this "Castine Fund," as it was popularly known, should be devoted to improvements in Nova Scotia. So great was the multitude of worthy objects that presented themselves to Sir John Sherbrooke's mind, that he was in a dilemma similar to that of the man who drew an elephant in a lottery. He recommended to the Council that the money be devoted to founding a House of Industry or an Alms House; and subsequently, as neither of these seemed to suit their wishes, he suggested the propriety of giving it to help along the Shubenacadie Canal. Before, however, a decision was reached, fortunately, we are compelled to say, Sir John was recalled, and Earl Dalhousie took his place.

The new governor came fresh from the wars of Europe to assume the government of Nova Scotia. He was then in the prime of life, having been born on October 22nd, 1770.† With Othello, Lord Dalhousie could have said—

"For since these arms of mine had seven years pith,
Till now, some nine moons wasted, they have used
Their dearest action in the tented field."

During all the wars of that eventful period which culminated on the 18th of June, 1815, he had taken an active part, and had particularly distinguished himself at Waterloo. For his services to his country he was raised to the peerage of the United Kingdom in August, 1815, with the title of Baron Dalhousie, of Dalhousie Castle, and shortly after appointed to Sir John Sherbrooke's position. On him really devolved the work of expending, in the best way possible, the Castine fund. For the present, then, we leave our immediate task to sketch the state of higher education in Nova Scotia, and, as we are doing so, we believe Lord Dalhousie's reason for devoting the money to the purpose he did will become apparent.

CHAPTER II.

Condition of Higher Education in Nova Scotia.

At the time in which our history necessarily opens, the state of affairs in Nova Scotia, as regards higher education, was, to say the least, unsatisfactory. As early as 1789, the Assembly had voted £400 per annum, in perpetuity, towards the support of a college at Windsor; and to this grant, large though it was considering the circumstances, they had added £500 to purchase a proper site. In voting this money the greatest unanimity prevailed; dissent-

* Annual Register, 1814.

† See Appendix A, p. 154.

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ers united with churchmen, believing that the money would be expended in such a way as to meet the requirements of all classes of the people. Up to this date, as the Bishop of Nova Scotia, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, says: "No other British Colony in North America ever did so much to promote literature." His Lordship also wrote to the Right Hon. Mr. Granville in the same strain, and asked him to use his influence with the Imperial Parliament to obtain assistance. Mr. Granville a year later was able to reply, that, as a mark of the attention of the parent government to the promotion of religion and learning in the Province, the sum of £1000 had been voted by the House of Commons towards the erection of a college in Nova Scotia. He further intimated that His Majesty had declared his intention of giving the institution a royal charter and of making it grants of crown lands to help its endowment. More was subsequently obtained, with which the buildings were finished. The charter was not granted until May, 1802, though the royal warrant for it had long been made out. With it came the announcement that an additional grant of £1000 (which was continued annually till 1834) had been voted by the Imperial Parliament.* In 1803 the Governors adopted the statute under which the new University was to be governed. One of these statutes ran thus:—

"No degree shall be conferred till the candidate shall have taken the oaths of allegiance and obedience to the statutes of the University, and shall have subscribed the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, and the three articles contained in the thirty-ninth canon of the Synod of London held in the year of our Lord, 1603."

Another clause was even more exclusive, but we forbear quoting it. The predominating idea of the Governors seems to have been to model the college on the plan of the University of Oxford. The students at heavy expense were obliged to reside within the walls, and its whole management was such as would have excluded the great majority of the youth of the Province, even had its statutes been more liberal. Mr. Haliburton, "Sam Slick," a graduate of Kings, and one therefore who could quote,

"Sir, if my judgment you'll allow,
I've seen, and sure I ought to know,"

in one of his speeches is reported as saying that it cost a young man £120 per annum to live at Windsor. This of itself was sufficient to prevent 99 out of the 100 of those who were desirous of securing a higher education from doing so.

In justice it must be said that the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had the power to veto any statute, expressed his disapproval of thus limiting the benefits of an institution to a few, particularly when that institution was so liberally supported by the Assembly of which the vast majority were dissenters, and that therefore these statutes were not legal. Sufficient it is to add that in spite of his representations, the trustees acted upon these regulations. Mr. Fairbanks, one of the most gifted of Nova Scotia's sons, stated, in a document to which we shall have occasion to refer later on, that he could not get a degree from Kings College because he could not swallow the tests.

With these arrangements the people were not satisfied, but, scattered as they were, and struggling for the necessities of life as most of them were,

* The facts given above were chiefly obtained from Dr. Akins' "History of Kings College."

little had been said and nothing done towards effecting a change. Still they were not indifferent in the matter. A thirst for knowledge that seemed almost unattainable was felt by many of the young men throughout the Province. In Pictou County, the only part of which we can with certainty speak, we find that the clergymen, in addition to their pastoral duties, devoted a portion of their time to the instruction of boys in the higher branches (one of them had as many as five such pupils), and we have every reason to believe that the same spirit was manifested in other parts of the province. Then began the agitation which resulted in the founding of Pictou Academy to do the work of a college, but without enjoying the power of granting degrees. The Act for its establishment was introduced into the Assembly in 1816, without prescribing any religious tests. Its projectors, though Presbyterians, desired to found the institution on a broad and liberal basis. In the Council, the bill was so terribly mutilated that even its friends could hardly recognize it. "The voice was Jacob's voice, but the hands were the hands of Esau." Clauses had been added by which the trustees were to be either of the Church of England or Presbyterians. As the former were engaged to the full extent of their power in sustaining Kings College, it was not expected that the new institution would derive any support from that quarter, and therefore, by being left to the Presbyterians alone, it would prove but a small affair. The friends of the institution in the House had no alternative but to accept the amendments or lose the bill altogether. The result was that although there were no religious tests for students—and thus its education was given without distinction of sect, and all classes did to some extent avail themselves of its advantages,—yet the restrictions in regard to trustees and teachers virtually threw it into the hands of the Presbyterians.

Such then was the condition of higher education in this Province when Lord Dalhousie succeeded Sir John Sherbrooke as Governor. Two institutions existed to do the work of colleges, though that at Pictou had not as yet commenced operations. One of these had been liberally endowed by the Provincial, as well as by the Imperial, Government. In return it had shut its doors to over four-fifths of the people. The other, though intended by its friends to be established on a broad basis, was by a body of irresponsible men made so restrictive that its beneficial effects were only widely felt by one denomination. Was it any wonder, then, that Lord Dalhousie, when he had money at his disposal, determined to devote it to founding a third college, "open to all occupations and sects of religion?"

CHAPTER III.

Early Years—Lord Dalhousie's Work—Laying of the Corner Stone.

As we have seen, the Castine fund amounted, after a few deductions had been made, to £10,750. As we have seen, Sir John Sherbrooke had been unable to decide upon the best way of expending it before he was recalled. As we have seen, Sir John was succeeded by the Earl of Dalhousie, who, as he himself says, felt the duty imposed on him of suggesting the appropriation as one of the highest importance.* At first he thought of applying it to the

* Letter to Lord Bathurst, December 14th, 1817.

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removal of Kings College to a situation that would be more accessible, but finally abandoned this idea as impracticable.* In his letter to Lord Bathurst, dated December 14th, 1817, he states that having referred the matter to His Majesty's Council, they had agreed with him in the opinion that a seminary for the higher branches of education is much wanted in Halifax—the capital of the Province—the seat of the Legislature—of the Courts of Justice—of the military and mercantile society. The model he proposes is that of the University of Edinburgh, whose classes were open to all sects of religion, to strangers passing a few weeks in town,—to the military,—to students of law,—in fact to anyone who chose to devote an hour to study in the forenoon. Had Lord Dalhousie known how this proposal, in so far as it relates to the model, would afterwards be so sadly misconstrued, he would certainly have been more explicit. Then he proceeds to make a statement of the funds. Having set apart £1000 for the support of the Garrison Library just being established, there remained £9,750. To quote his own words:—"I would apply £3000 to a building, and sink the remainder as a fund for the support of the *Professorship*." "I am aware," he adds, "that this would not be sufficient without the Legislature of the Province aided us by an annual vote." As a site for the University about to be, he suggests "that area in front of St. Paul's Church, now the Grand Parade." The Trustees also, whose appointment he would recommend, are worthy of being mentioned. They are, "officers *ex officio* high in rank and always present," the Lieut.-Governor, the Chief Justice, the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, the Treasurer of the Province, and the appointed minister of the Scotch Church in Halifax.

On February 6th, 1818, Earl Bathurst replied that he had received Lord Dalhousie's suggestions, submitted them to the consideration of the Prince Regent, and that His Royal Highness had been pleased to express his entire approbation of the funds in question being applied in the foundation of a seminary in Halifax for the higher classes of learning.†

Having obtained permission to invest the Castine fund in the way he wished, Lord Dalhousie immediately wrote to Principal Baird of Edinburgh University, asking him for a statement of the principles regulating the government of that institution. In Edinburgh University at this time the Professor of Logic and Belles Lettres was the celebrated Dr. Andrew Brown, who formerly had been minister of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, and who, it will be remembered, while in that position, had collected the materials for a History of Nova Scotia, which he did not live to finish. Dr. Brown, as might be supposed, took a livelier interest in the scheme than a stranger could; so at Principal Baird's request he prepared a lengthy letter, which they both signed, giving a detailed explanation of the *modus operandi* at Edinburgh. Principal Baird sent a note, (dated 1st August, 1818), to accompany this letter, containing very little additional information. Some extracts from the joint letter we think it well to quote:

"We feel no little pleasure in opening our report by saying that the University of Edinburgh rose, like the institution contemplated for Nova Scotia,

* Letter to Council, December 11th, 1817.

† These letters (Lord Dalhousie to Earl Bathurst, and the latter's reply) can be found in the Journals of the House of Assembly for the year 1819, under date February 17th. They are also given along with the letters immediately after referred to, and much other interesting matter, in an Appendix to Journals for the year 1836.

out of small beginnings, and grew to its present size by gradual additions to the original designs as the state of the nation called for them, or as the increase of its prosperity and its love of learning supplied the means.

* * * * *

"The gates of the University are open to all persons indiscriminately from whatever country they may come, or to whatever mode of faith or worship they may be attached. In fact we do not know that any other disqualification for admission to the privileges of the University exists than the brand of public ignominy or a sentence of expulsion passed by another University. Nothing further in the shape of pledge or engagement is exacted from the general student than that he take the *Sponsio Academica* binding himself to observe the regulations relative to public order—to respect his teachers, and maintain the decorum becoming the character of a scholar.

* * * * *

"From the short notice of the state of Halifax in Your Excellency's letter we would have inferred, without that local knowledge which one of us happens to possess, that by attaching the institution to the Capital you secure, in addition to all other objects, *the exclusive advantage of calling forth, as soon as the demands of the country may require it, a band of volunteer laborers in three of the learned professions*, whose desire of usefulness and distinction will be sufficient to engage them in preparing a course of public instruction in some branch of science connected either with their own immediate pursuits or their favorite private studies."

Lord Dalhousie knew from the beginning, as his first letter to Lord Bathurst shows, that the money at his disposal was inadequate for the work he had undertaken. Accordingly he sought assistance from the Legislature, and in the speech with which he opened the session of 1819 we find these words: "I will submit to you the plan of an institution in Halifax, in which the advantages of a collegiate education will be found within the reach of all classes of society, and which will be open to all sects of religious persuasion." In the reply this section of the speech is answered in similar terms.* The House was opened on the 11th of February, and on the 17th of the same month, in fulfilment of his promise, he sent to the Assembly two messages, the first of which had reference to the new college, and was accompanied by two letters (his own to Lord Bathurst and that nobleman's reply.) The steps usual on an occasion of this kind were taken, but nothing of importance was done till well nigh two months had passed. Then the committee of the whole House, through their chairman, reported in favor of granting £2000 towards completing the building; but, by the terms of their resolution, this amount was not to be drawn from the Treasury until the £3000 set apart by the Earl of Dalhousie for that purpose should be expended.† However, in their reply to the message, they make no reference to the latter part—the saving clause—of their resolution, but simply state that they have granted £2000 for the purpose above mentioned. The concluding portion of this reply we consider worthy of quotation here:—"We most confidently hope the liberal principles Your Excellency has stated as the groundwork of the constitution of the proposed college will not fail to render it highly useful and honorable to this part of His Majesty's dominions.

* Journals H. of A., vol. xiii., pp. 7 & 8.

† Journals, vol. xiii., page 98.

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"Deeply impressed with the sense of Your Excellency's sincere desire to promote the welfare of this country, allow us to express our ardent hope that this institution may flourish, and continue to the inhabitants of Nova Scotia a lasting monument of the enlightened policy of Your Excellency's administration."*

Having thus obtained the money, the advice, and the co-operation of the Legislature that he wished, Lord Dalhousie set to work. A part of the Parade was assigned as a site, and the building immediately commenced. It seems certain that at first Lord Dalhousie only intended to found what we would call an Academy, and consequently the building was planned on much less pretentious dimensions than it afterwards assumed. We learn this, as well from a statement of one of the trustees given in an appendix to the Journals for 1832, as from the exceedingly small sum he had set apart for building purposes. The reason he had for enlarging to such an extent as he did is mentioned in the statement to which we have just referred. "Public opinion," it says, "induced His Lordship to authorize the enlargement of the work with a view of its being united with Kings College, and that establishment being moved from Windsor to Halifax—a more suitable situation." While the work of erection was going on, the Earl was not idle. On the 15th May, 1820, we find the "provisional" trustees, if we may so call them—Lord Dalhousie (the Lieut.-Governor), Hon. Mr. Blowers (the Chief Justice), Hon. Michael Wallace (the Treasurer), and Hon. Mr. Robie (the Speaker)—writing to Prof. Monk, a gentleman "of high station and character in the University of Cambridge," and asking him to recommend a young man duly qualified in point of reputation and acquirements to fill the position of Principal. It appears, and is, strange that they did not apply to Principal Baird or Dr. Brown, both of whom had shown themselves so willing to help. But passing this by, there are some facts of interest to be gleaned from the letter. The writers state that whenever the funds will permit, they purpose having three Professorships, one in Classics, (*the Professor of which shall preside as Principal*), one in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and one in Moral Philosophy. In consequence of their limited means, they are at this time only able to provide one Professor, who must be qualified to teach both Classics and Mathematics, "the most essential branches of education in the present state of the colony." The salary offered to this "admirable Crichton" is £300 with class fees, and he is at liberty to increase it by taking boarders. They intimate that the building will be ready for lectures in the early part of the winter; but the Principal need not start before March or April, as by that time they hope to have the funds in a healthier condition. In conclusion, they express their preference for a clergyman, if such an one can be obtained.

By May 22nd of the same year, so much progress had been made that everything was in readiness for the laying of the corner stone. The *Acadian Recorder* of May 26th, 1820, contains a graphic pen picture of the ceremonies that took place on the occasion. We shall quote its account in full:—

"Monday last being the day appointed for laying the corner stone of the College on the Parade, the Grand Lodge and the respective lodges of the town of Halifax assembled in the Freemasons Hall at 11 o'clock, and, after making the necessary arrangements, proceeded in the usual manner to the site of the building, formed a square, and awaited the arrival of His Excel-

* Journals, vol. xiii., page 113.

lency the Right Honorable the Earl of Dalhousie. The troops in garrison, with their colors and music, formed a lane from the West front of the Province House to the entrance of the enclosure round the College.

"A few minutes before two o'clock, His Excellency, accompanied by Rear Admiral Griffith, the Honorable the Chief Justice, the members of His Majesty's Council, the Magistrates, the Commandant, the Captains of His Majesty's ships in port, the Staff and Officers of the regiment in garrison, proceeded to the building, where he was received by John George Pyke, Esq., Grand Master, and conducted to the South-East corner of the edifice, when, every necessary preparation having been made, the Rev. Mr. Twining, Grand Chaplain, delivered, in a very impressive manner, a suitable prayer for the occasion. Immediately after, the following inscription, engraved on a plate of brass, was deposited in an excavation of the stone, as also a bottle hermetically sealed, containing the various coins of His late Majesty King George III., in gold and silver :—

INSCRIPTION.

In the year of our Lord, 1820,
and in the first year of the reign of
His Sacred Majesty, GEORGE THE IV.,
KING of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Ireland,
etc., etc., etc.

The Corner Stone of this College, designed for
A PUBLIC SEMINARY,

In which the youth of this and other British
Provinces may be educated in the various
branches of Literature and Science,
was laid

By His Excellency Lieutenant-Genl. the
Right Honorable
GEORGE RAMSAY,

Earl of Dalhousie, Baron Dalhousie of
Dalhousie Castle,

Knight Grand Cross of the Most
Honorable Military Order of the Bath,
Captain General and Governor
in Chief, in and over His Majesty's
Provinces of Lower Canada,

Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick,
and the islands of
Prince Edward and Cape Breton,
etc., etc., etc.;

Accompanied by the Honorable
Sampson Salter Blowers, Chief Justice of the
Province, and the
Members of His Majesty's Council,
Magistrates, etc.,

Rear-Admiral Griffith, and the
Captains of His Majesty's Squadron on the
Station,

Colonel George Macle, Commandant of the
Garrison,

Lieut. Colonel Gauntlett,
Commanding the 62nd Regiment, and the
Field Officers of His Majesty's Forces
in this Garrison, etc., etc.

ALSO

John George Pyke, Grand Master, the
Deputy Grand Master, the
Wardens and other officers
and brethren of the respective
Lodges of Free Masons
in Halifax.

"When this part of the ceremony was performed, His Lordship addressed the audience in the following speech :—' Before I proceed in this ceremony, I think it necessary to state to you, gentlemen, the object and intention of this important work ; I think it necessary to do this because I have never yet made any public declaration of the nature of the Institution I am here

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planting among you, and because I know that some part of the public imagine that it is intended to oppose the college already established at Windsor. This *College of Halifax* is founded for the instruction of youth in the higher Classics and in all Philosophical studies; it is founded in imitation of the University of Edinburgh; its doors will be open to all who profess the Christian religion; to the youth of His Majesty's North American Colonies, to strangers residing here, to gentlemen of the military as well as the learned professions, to all, in short, who may be disposed to devote a small part of their time to study. It does not oppose the Kings College at Windsor, because it is well known that college does not admit any students unless they subscribe to the tests required by the Established Church of England, and these tests exclude the great proportion of the youth of this Province. It is therefore particularly intended for those who are excluded from Windsor; it is founded upon the principles of religious toleration secured to you by the laws, and upon that paternal protection which the King of England extends to all his subjects. It is under His Majesty's gracious approbation of this institution that I meet you here to-day, and as his humble representative I lay the corner-stone of this building. I here perform an act which appears to me to promise incalculable advantages to this country; and if my name, as Governor of the Province, can be associated with your future well-being, it is upon the foundation of this college that I could desire to rest it. From this college every blessing may flow over your country; in a few months hence it may dispense these blessings to you whom I now address; may it continue to dispense them to the latest ages! Let no jealousy disturb its peace; let no lukewarm indifference check its growth! Protect it in its first years, and it will abundantly repay your care!"

"After which the corner-stone was laid by His Lordship, who received the corn, wine, and oil from the Grand Master, and poured them upon it.

"The ceremony having been thus completed, the Grand Chaplain again delivered an appropriate prayer for the prosperity and usefulness of the intended institution. A royal salute was then fired from Fort Charlotte, which was followed by three times three cheers from the vast assemblage of inhabitants which surrounded the college."

This was Lord Dalhousie's last public act on behalf of the college to which he gave his name, and for whose welfare he had done so much. He had, in the address we have quoted above, committed the infant institution to the consideration of the citizens of Halifax. A very few weeks before, in his parting speech to the Legislature, he had earnestly recommended the same institution to their protection, concluding his speech with a similar expression of confidence in the future of the college to that he had used at the laying of the corner-stone. "I am fully convinced that the advantages will be great even in our own time, but, growing as it will grow with the prosperity of the Province, no human foresight can imagine to what extent it may spread its blessings."

Before these eloquent words had been uttered, Lord Dalhousie had been appointed Governor-General of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. Thither he soon afterwards went to enter upon his duties, and Nova Scotia, except for a short visit, saw him no more for ever. One is strongly reminded of Socrates commending his sons to the care of the State ere he went to drink the cup of hemlock; or of Henry I. on his death-bed, gathering around him his barons, and making them swear an oath of allegiance to his daughter, as

he reads these latest evidences of Lord Dalhousie's paternal interest in the college he was instrumental in founding. He went, we say, to the Canadas. But shall he be forgotten? Ah! no! Other Governors have left behind them enduring memorials of themselves by attaching their names to places. Lord Dalhousie, too, might be so remembered; but, to the generations whom his works have blessed, his memory will be fragrant, not because his name has been bestowed on some lofty mountain or peaceful farming village, but because of his labors on behalf of a college now the pride and delight of thousands of Nova Scotians. Other Governors will not soon be forgotten, but for Lord Dalhousie alone has been reserved the glorious privilege of being able to borrow an old poet's language, and exclaim,

"Exegi monumentum aere perennius
Regalique situ pyramidum altius."

CHAPTER IV.

Sir James Kempt—Act of Incorporation—Loan of £5,000.

Sir James Kempt succeeded Lord Dalhousie as Lieut.-Governor, and well was it for Dalhousie College; for in him it found a staunch friend. Of Sir James' life we have not been able to find many particulars. In the Duke of Wellington's dispatches written from the field of Waterloo, he is spoken of in the highest terms for his bravery and competency.* If "from one we may judge all," our estimate of Sir James Kempt may be easily formed from this mention of him by a man not given to flattery, in a paper penned immediately after the fate of many nations had been decided, and at a time when ordinary men would be forgotten. As a Governor he proved himself energetic; and his career, if not remembered as it should be, was most beneficial to the people over whom he was placed. In everything that tended to Nova Scotia's weal he took an active part. When compiling the facts subsequently set down as we saw the good work he did for the college, we have been much surprised at the slight recognition Dalhousians have taken of his services. Save that his name appeared in the Latin inscription that arrested the attention of the visitor who entered the front door of the venerable building that stood on the parade, we should never have connected him with the college in any way. Yet, as the sequel shows, he labored on its behalf in season and out of season.

During the year 1820 the work of building went steadily on. Before the time had come for the opening of Parliament, outwardly at least the college was nearly completed. As it was intended to be used for the purposes for which it was designed whenever finished, an Act of Incorporation was needed. Lord Dalhousie had endeavored to obtain a Royal Charter, in fact one had been promised him; but proving too expensive a luxury,† he had written, on the 16th May, 1820, to the Colonial Secretary, asking that the charter for the new college be allowed to pass under the sanction of a Provincial Statute in order to save needless expense. Lord Bathurst, who was still Colonial Secretary, did not reply till November 4th of the same year. The permission sought for was granted, but the Lieut.-Governor, Sir

* See Annual Register, 1815.

† A Royal Charter cost either £400 or £800, we are not sure which, but think the latter.

James Kempt (for Lord Dalhousie had left for Canada before this date) was asked to transmit the bill to the Home Government for their approval ere he submitted it to the Local Legislature. Accordingly the bill was drafted, sanctioned by the Colonial Secretary, and submitted to the Council in the early days of the session of 1821. It was entitled, "A Bill to Incorporate the Governors of the Dalhousie College at Halifax." Prefixed to the Act proper was a lengthy preamble which recited briefly many of the facts we have given. The first section fixed the name of the college and its situation, and appointed the following as trustees: the Governor-General, the Lieut. Governor, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Chief Justice, the President of the Council, the Treasurer of the Province, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, and the President of the College. The remainder of the Act contains nothing striking. The Governors are incorporated, given power to make rules for the management of the college, to increase the number of Chairs whenever it would be advisable, and such other rights and privileges as were necessary. In this form the bill passed the Council, and was sent to the House. There a slight amendment in the wording of the preamble was moved, and carried only by the casting vote of the Speaker. The amendment was of no importance, and was accepted by the Council without any opposition. Dalhousie College thus on Saturday, 13th January, 1821, assumed all the powers of a University, but as we shall see, made no use of them.

This was not the only occasion during this session that the House was asked to discuss the affairs of the College. On February 6th Sir James sent to the House a strongly-worded message in favor of a grant to the newly-made University. The message might be quoted in its entirety, but we have space only for the middle paragraph:—

"The monies allotted for the building, including the two thousand pounds granted the last year by the Assembly, have all been expended, and considerable sums are yet wanting to complete it. It is not my wish or expectation that the expense of building should be borne by the Legislature only: a large sum has been already granted by His Majesty and expended; and hopes are entertained that additional aid will be afforded by His Majesty; but the present state of the building is such as to require an immediate supply to save it from the injuries of the weather, and to render it fit for the reception of students."

Before considering in what way this message was treated, we must observe that in the early years of this century it was the custom, whenever a Governor who had been at all popular was leaving, for the Legislature to give him a present. Sir John Sherbrooke had been given a most handsome gift. For Lord Dalhousie, the House voted £1000 to purchase a sword and star; but that nobleman declined to accept the sum for reasons that need not here be mentioned. When, then, two weeks after its receipt, the House came to consider this message of Sir James Kempt, they adopted a resolution to the effect "that the sum granted to Lord Dalhousie, but which His Lordship had refused, should be applied and appropriated for the purpose of completing the college buildings." We do not doubt but that the Governor-General, when he heard of the disposition of the money that might have been his, was glad of the course he had taken. With this grant of £1000 the building was completed in so far as its exterior was concerned—it was long after before the interior was finished. At least the Latin inscription over the front door of the old college building, the wonder and admiration of many a new student

and passer-by, tells us so. To this inscription we have had occasion to refer before. We shall not have to do so again, and here then is perhaps the most appropriate place for its reproduction :—

Anno
Salutis Christianæ
MDCCCXIX.,
Et regni Georgii III.
Britanniarum
regis potentissimi
LIX.
Hoc Edificium
Sub auspiciis Georgii Ramsay,
Comitis de Dalhousie,
hienone militibus ordinibus
Balmi superioribus
Huius provincie procuratoris
Inchoatum.
Anno post uno et altero
Georgii IV. rerum potestate
Et Jacobo Kempt huius ordinibus
Balmi honoribus insignito
Eadem procuratore
felicitate fungente
Perfectum.

During the session of 1822, we find nothing about Dalhousie College in the Journals of the House or the papers of the time—the two great sources of information. In fact, during that whole year, all we can obtain of interest or importance is contained in a memorandum* of cost of building up to June 12, 1822. When it was made we cannot tell, but it is evidently accurate; and though as a curiosity we might quote it in full, we think it sufficient to mention that the total cost up to that date was £9384 18s. 1d. When it is remembered that £3000, supplemented by the grants of £2000 and £1000, was all that the Governors had at their disposal for building purposes, it will be seen that they had involved themselves heavily in debt, and we will not be surprised to find that they again applied to the Legislature for assistance. On March 25, 1823, the Lieut. Governor sent a second message to the House, in its terms as urgent as his first. This was the opening paragraph: "The peculiar situation of the building called the Dalhousie College induces me to submit to the Assembly the propriety of granting, by loan or otherwise, the means of enabling the trustees to relieve the building from the debt incurred by its erection, and to set the Institution in operation." Then, after reciting the aims in view in founding it, he says: "I cannot but flatter myself that such an institution will be considered by the Legislature as entitled to its liberal support and patronage; and that it will not be suffered to be stifled in its infancy, and so promising an object, after the great expense already incurred on it, to be rendered useless and abortive." The consideration of this message was postponed from day to day. Finally it was reached on the 4th of April, and the House resolved that they would loan to the Governors of the college the sum of £5000 for five years, the repayment of which was secured on the Funds deposited in England in such a manner as would be provided for by a Bill for that purpose. A committee, of which T. C. Haliburton was one, was appointed to prepare this Bill, and, losing no time in getting to work, they were able to present next day "A Bill authorising the Issuing of Treasury Notes to a certain amount, and lending the same to Dalhousie College and for securing the repayment thereof." Several amendments were offered and agreed to in the Lower House, but it passed the

* This memorandum will be found in the Appendix to the Journals House of Assembly for 1826.

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Council without change, and was, we may well believe, readily assented to by His Excellency the Lieut. Governor. Nor did Sir James rest satisfied with this. During the session, he was in correspondence with Earl Bathurst endeavoring to have a portion of the revenue arising from coal mines, then accruing to the Imperial Parliament, devoted to Kings and Dalhousie Colleges. We have not been able to see Sir James' letter, but the concluding portion of Earl Bathurst's reply* is all that is necessary for our purpose. We quote: "I am therefore to desire that you will inform the Legislature that you are authorized to advance from the revenue of the Coal Mines £1000 currency to Kings, and a similar sum to Dalhousie, College; provided that grants to an equal amount are voted by the Province in aid of those Institutions." This letter the Lieut. Governor submitted to the House early in 1824. No action whatever was taken upon it until the closing day of the session, when it was, on motion, resolved that a committee be appointed to wait on His Excellency to state to him that the House have had under its consideration the communication from Earl Bathurst, but that, as it was the intention of the House in the next session of this Assembly to give a very general consideration to the subject of education, in which the colleges will necessarily be brought under discussion, they have found it necessary to defer the further consideration of His Lordship's communication until that period. (We have quoted almost the exact words of the resolution as passed.) In our time the House, when they wish to get rid of a Bill or resolution, has a simple way of moving a three or six months hoist. In the days of which we are writing, the process, as witness the above, was longer, but just as effectual. We hear nothing more of grants to the colleges from the revenue derived from the Coal mines. In fact, until 1829, so far as we can learn, Dalhousie College was not referred to in the House except on one occasion. That single exception occurred in 1827, when T. C. Haliburton was in one of his fits of bad temper, and was criticising the Council for throwing out his School Bill because of the expense. He is reported in the *Nova Scotian* as saying (with a view of showing the inconsistency of the Council), "they assented to a vote of £5000 to the *Pastry Cook's shop called Dalhousie College.*" By this he probably meant that one of the stores in the basement was occupied by a pastry cook—a fact we should never have been able to learn but for this unkind reference.

CHAPTER V.

First Attempt at union with Kings—Reasons of Failure.

Sir James Kempt was clear-headed enough to see that two colleges could never thrive in Nova Scotia where there was barely constituency enough for one. Thus, though he was in duty bound to support Dalhousie College, founded as it was for the people of all denominations, he saw plainly that if a union of Kings and Dalhousie could be accomplished without sacrificing the primary object of the latter's establishment, it would be in the highest degree beneficial to the cause of education. Accordingly he entered into communication with the authorities of Kings, and with Lord Dalhousie, and sounded them upon the subject. A number of the former viewed the project with favor, and, as we shall afterwards see, the founder of Dalhousie was not

* See Journals House of Assembly, vol. 14, p. 408.

disposed to offer any objections. At their annual meeting on September 23rd, 1823, the Board of Governors of Kings discussed the matter; and as they did not consider the removal of Kings College an insuperable objection, they appointed a committee, consisting of the President (Dr. Porter) and the Rev. Dr. Inglis, to meet with a committee from the Governors of Dalhousie College, and subsequently to report the steps taken. The committee from Dalhousie College was composed of S. G. W. Archibald (the Speaker) and Hon. Michael Wallace (the Treasurer). A conference was held the next day, but it was some time before this joint committee was ready with their report. At a meeting of the Governors of Kings held in Government House, Halifax, on January 3rd, 1824, the report, accompanied by a long list of suggestions and observations,* was submitted. We have not room to quote these in full, but some of them we cannot pass without mention. The name agreed upon for the united college was "The United Colleges of Kings and Dalhousie." The site chosen was Halifax. The government was to be very largely the same as that of Kings. The President was to be a clergyman of the Established Church, in full orders, and the three or more Fellows (who, by the way, were to be unmarried men) must have subscribed to the thirty-nine articles. In all these clauses, except the very important one as to site, Dalhousie had made the concessions; but the friends of that college were able to have the professorships thrown open to all qualified persons, to remove the strict regulations in regard to residence and degrees,—in short, had the colleges been united, through their influence the university so formed would have stood upon a comparatively liberal basis, and would have gained the confidence and support of the great body of the people.

Besides the suggestions, as we have said, there were observations intended to explain away certain of the articles which were likely to stand in the way of union. One of the first of these reads:—"It is considered that several sacrifices will be necessary from both, but an ample return will be attained by putting an end at once to all rivalry; the tendency of which would inevitably be to keep both in poverty and insignificance,—because it must be evident that one college will be ample for the literary wants of Nova Scotia, and perhaps of the adjoining Provinces, for several centuries; and it is equally evident that it is scarcely possible to obtain the funds that are essential to the competent and liberal support of one college."

Lord Dalhousie most cordially approved of the scheme, and in a letter to Lieut.-Governor Kempt—who had submitted to him the suggestions and observations—said: "I have always declared it my sole object in the foundation of the Halifax College, to obtain education to all classes in Nova Scotia and the adjoining provinces, but particularly to those who are excluded from Kings College, Windsor, by the rules of that institution. By the proposal of the paper I have now received, I think my object is obtained as fully as could be desired. The removal of the institution to Halifax, open lectures in college, instruction and honors (with the exception of church degrees), free to dissenters of all classes, are the advantages that were looked for by a college at Halifax; and I am truly happy to learn that these are not considered to be altogether inconsistent with the primary objects of Kings College. The government of the college cannot be placed more advantageously than in the hands of the governors, patron, and visitor of Kings. The constitution and internal government are equally unexceptionable, provided that the toleration

* Appendix to Journals House of Assembly, 1836.

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contemplated in that at Halifax be secured. If these proposals shall be finally approved, I think the very character and name of Dalhousie College should at once be lost in that of the other, so that the style of Kings College should alone be known and looked up to."

This letter was read to the Governors of Kings at the meeting we had commenced to describe. Two of the Governors, Dr. Cochran (the Vice-president) and Chief Justice Blowers, were violently opposed to any union. The former, who was in delicate health, signified his dissent by writing. The latter expressed his adverse opinion by word of mouth, but at a subsequent meeting submitted a lengthy statement of his objections. To show what was the nature of his objections—he was also a Governor of Dalhousie College, he it remembered—we quote two of them, the fourth and fifth, on his list of fourteen :

"4.—Because the University of Windsor takes its example from the University of Oxford, perhaps the noblest and most exalted seat of learning known in the ancient or modern world. This University is placed in a retired part of the kingdom, where its professors, fellows, and students enjoy learned leisure with dignity, and pursue and perfect their studies undisturbed by a noisy populace—the hurry and bustle of trade—and the dissipation, extravagances, and bad example of the idle, etc."

"5.—Because by this change and removal it is attempted to engraft the university of Windsor upon a college of dissimilar design ; and classical literature, the basis of the elder establishment, may be made subservient to lectures, studies, and diffusive acquirements ; and it is to be feared that in the end classical education may be lost in the more showy and dazzling employment of experiments and amusing pursuits."

Many of the other objections are similar in character, and yet these same objections, when afterwards urged by the Archbishop of Canterbury, materially aided in the prevention of the union. The majority of the Governors, despite the opposition of the Vice-president and the Chief Justice, declared in favor of the union ; and in the resolutions they adopted, distinctly gave their reasons. The Solicitor and Attorney-generals were appointed a committee to draft a bill for accomplishing the union. Four days later, the Governors again met, and the draft of a bill entitled "An Act for uniting Kings College at Windsor, and Dalhousie College at Halifax," was read. No decisive steps were taken, as it was deemed advisable that the Governors should study the bill carefully, and that a copy should be sent to Earl Dalhousie. That nobleman approved in due course, but still the Governors hesitated, and resolved finally to submit another copy to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who of course disapproved, his objections to the proposal coinciding generally with those of Chief Justice Blowers. As Dr. Akins says :^{*} "The obstacle thus presented, and the success of Dr. Inglis in obtaining contributions in England for the use of Kings College, caused the friends of the college (Kings) to feel now quite indifferent as to the union with Dalhousie, and the measure was consequently abandoned."

One is strongly reminded of the old couplet,

"When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be ;
When the devil got well, the devil a monk was he."

When Kings College was in want of funds to carry on its work, it was willing to unite ; but when it grew richer, nothing was more detestable than a union with the college on the Parade.

^{*} History of Kings College, page 42.

CHAPTER VI.

Payment of Loan demanded—Second Attempt at union with Kings—A union that might have been effected.

When the five years for which that memorable £5,000 had been loaned was up, (viz, in 1829), the committee of the whole House reported in favor of its immediate collection. Mr. Murdoch at once moved an amendment to their resolution to the effect that the money be not withdrawn from the funds of the college, provided that it will be rendered beneficial according to its original design as a seminary of learning, within any reasonable period. The amendment was lost, and the main resolution carried. The Governors of the college at once became alarmed, and held a meeting two days later, at which it was resolved* "that they should take every step in their power to raise the money from the lands and buildings pledged for that purpose." Later in the same year they met again to discuss the same subject, and* it was resolved, "that the Governors will be prepared to pay the sum of £500 immediately, and the further sum of £500 annually, until the whole £5,000 be paid, and that they have not any means by which they can make other or greater payments, unless by the sale of the lands and buildings, which should be attended with many difficulties and long delay." Before, however, the House could take decided steps, relief came from the president of the council, Hon. Michael Wallace, then acting as Lieut.-Governor. By message, he shows the House that the best use possible is being made of the building, by renting rooms in it for private schools; that the endowment fund is not under the control of the trustees, who are only entitled to draw the dividends. Further he says: "It is probable that by a sale of the building and parade ground adjoining, the £5,000 might be obtained; but I cannot bring myself to believe that the Assembly could be disposed thus to annihilate the plan adopted by Lord Dalhousie." He therefore advises them to postpone claiming payment of the loan until the trustees can pay it with less inconvenience. "A gentleman," he concludes, "eminently qualified to take charge of the institution has been for some time engaged, and is now waiting for orders to come out for that purpose."

As might be expected, this message provoked a vast deal of discussion. It did not come up for consideration until the next session. The enemies of the college, headed by a Mr. Smith, sought to postpone the matter still further, but failed in their effort. Mr. Hartshorne, then, we believe, one of the members for Halifax, afterwards Secretary to the Board of Governors of Dalhousie, next moved the following resolution:—"Resolved, that the debt of £5,000 due from Dalhousie College be given up to that institution." Only five appeared in support of this resolution. Mr. Uniacke, one of the five, then moved a third resolution, to the effect that the trustees be not then asked for the money, in the hope that the college might be opened within one year. This resolution found ten supporters. The last, moved by Mr. Stewart of Cumberland, carried. By its terms, the difficulty was tided over, and the Governors had three more years to plan how they could pay the £5,000 without funds.

* Journals House of Assembly, vol. xv, pp. 542-3.

Our readers will not have forgotten the closing words of the Hon. Michael Wallace's message regarding the gentleman "eminently qualified." These words it will perhaps be necessary to explain. Some time previous to the demand for the payment of the loan, the Governors had written to Dr. Memes, of Ayr, offering him the position of Principal of their institution. When that demand was made, the correspondence had been stopped. However, in 1830, when the Legislature agreed to suspend their claim, the correspondence was renewed, and we find the Governors writing to Dr. Memes, offering him the situation of Principal, with a salary of £300, exclusive of class fees. They promised to pay his expenses in coming to Halifax, and provided him with a sum of money to buy Philosophical Apparatus. The title of "Principal" was not to be such a misnomer as might be supposed. As far as we can learn, it was the intention of the Governors to associate with Dr. Memes, in doing collegiate work, the Rev. Thomas Aitkin, who at this time was teaching a private school of an advanced kind within the college building. In that case Dr. Memes would actually have been Principal. The only reply of Dr. Memes we have been able to find was written on Oct. 1st, 1831, considerably over a year after the Governors had made him their offer. There doubtless was some correspondence in the intervening period. In this letter he intimates his acceptance of the appointment, and his intention to sail on the 12th inst., and narrates the steps he has taken in purchasing apparatus. He announces that the classes he will certainly open will be Greek, Latin, and Mathematics,—these three in both Junior and Senior Divisions,—Rhetoric and Logic. He gives the Governors authority to advertise his coming and the work he will do in any way they may see fit.* The Governors accordingly did so, and we quote in full the notice published in the *Pictou Observer* of Nov. 23rd, 1831: "Dalhousie College is to be opened under Dr. John S. Memes, already well known by his 'Life of the celebrated Canova,' 'The History of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture,' 'A translation of Bourriennes' Memoirs of Napoleon,' and very recently by his 'Memoirs of Josephine.' He was to sail on the 12th October, and would immediately enter upon his duties as Principal." An interesting question now arises, did Dr. Memes ever come? We cannot answer positively, but as far as we can discover he did not. Certain it is that he never began work; still it may be that he came and saw, but did not stay to conquer the difficulties that lay before him.

The subject of union between Dalhousie and Kings was again mooted in 1829, and was the occasion of many dispatches between the Lieut.-Governor and the Colonial Secretaries for the next six years. The strife between Pictou Academy and Kings College was then at its height, and the Colonial Secretary was constantly being troubled by representations and petitions on the dispute from the friends of both. Sir George Murray, who then filled that office, after a consideration of the whole matter, became of the opinion that one college, if founded on a liberal basis, was amply sufficient for the needs of the Province, and that a strong healthy university might be formed by the concentration of the funds of Kings and Dalhousie. In this way, too, the Presbyterian supporters of Pictou Academy would be pacified. Accordingly he writes Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir James Kempt's successor, under date Aug. 31st, 1829. He opens the subject by saying,

* These two letters (the Governors' to Dr. Memes and his reply) will be found in Appendix Journals for 1830.

what was no doubt true, but unfortunately not so regarded, "There can be no question as to the propriety of adopting this measure." Knowing of the debt of £5000 due by the Governors of Dalhousie to the Province, he first suggests that the Province take the college building and relinquish their claim. This would leave all its endowment fund free to go to the United College. If this plan be not feasible, or if the distance of Windsor from the capital be an insuperable objection, then he proposes as an alternative that the buildings of Dalhousie be taken for the colleges, and that those at Windsor be disposed of, in which case the Province might be induced to remit the £5000. This latter scheme he is inclined to favor for the reason that the buildings at Windsor are of a perishable nature. He concludes his letter with some general directions, and by stating that he could not hold out any hope of assistance from the Home government, and that he needed not to point out the serious inconvenience of embarking in enterprises too expensive for the purposes in hand, when it was so strongly exemplified in the case of Dalhousie College.*

This was followed by a despatch, dated July 31st, 1831, from Lord Goderich, Sir George's successor in office. He, too, seems to have made some study of the matter, for he goes fully into all its "various fluctuations." The despatch is a curious one, and shows clearly that the Colonial Secretary, notwithstanding all the consideration he had given the question, had not begun to fathom the depths of denominational bitterness and prejudice of the people in authority in Nova Scotia. Throughout his despatch he seems to go on the supposition that there was no more serious difficulty in the way of union than that connected with the site. He even goes so far as to tell the Lieut. Governor, and through him the governing Boards of both institutions, what provision must be made for the Principal, whom he takes for granted is to be Dr. Porter, then President of Kings. Unlike Sir George Murray, he says nothing about having the college free from restrictions in fact the whole tenor of his letter is the other way. Curious though this despatch was, it was also serious. Lord Goderich gave the Governors of Kings distinctly to understand that the grant of £1000 which they had been getting from the Imperial Parliament must terminate. The deficit in their funds thus caused could in his opinion only be made up by a grant from the Assembly, which he thought could not be expected unless the friends of Kings College ceased to oppose the claims of Pictou Academy. He was of opinion that the payment of the loan of £5000 would prevent the union, and hoped therefore that it would not be demanded. After a reference to the dilapidated condition of the buildings at Windsor, he concluded by urging the necessity of concessions being made on both sides †

The contents of this despatch were communicated to the Governors of both Kings and Dalhousie, and both bodies held a meeting on the same day and in the same place, viz.: at Government House, on Friday, 13th January. This may seem strange; but when we remember that four of the chief provincial officers were Governors of both institutions, we need not be surprised. Two sets of minutes were kept, though one would have been sufficient. Both Boards resolved unanimously that they had every inclination to meet the desire which had been expressed by his Lordship (the Colonial Secretary) for an union of Kings College at Windsor with Dalhousie College

* Appendix to Journals H. of A. for 1836.

† See No. 68, Vol. 9, in Record Office.

Halifax. Then followed a series of resolutions in effect almost the same as the suggestions for union in 1823. The degrees, except those in divinity, and the professorships, should be open to all duly qualified persons. The President was to be a clergyman of the Church of England, and to him would be committed the theological instruction of those students who were members of that denomination. The Speaker of the House of Assembly, (S. G. W. Archibald), who was one of those who sat in both bodies, dissented to all these resolutions except the two which were liberal, and gave his reasons for so doing in a short note that was affixed to the minutes.* His chief reason for dissenting was couched in these words:—"The constitution of such a college must be established by an act of the Colonial Legislature, and will not be left to depend upon the present constitution of either of these institutions; and it is not to be expected that the Legislature will limit the government of such an institution to the Church of England, or to any particular denomination of Christians, or that they will establish any religious distinctions, or any exclusions or restrictions whatever." Besides these minutes which were sent to Lord Goderich by the Lieutenant-Governor, the Governors of Kings forwarded a memorial pressing him to continue the Parliamentary Grant, without which they believed they would be unable to carry on the work of the college. Two months later, Sir Peregrine Maitland, by message to the House of Assembly, directed its attention to the subject of union. His message was largely made up of the minutes we have spoken of above, and we need not make any further reference to it other than to say, that the Legislature postponed its consideration till the next session, and before the next session had come had forgotten it completely.

Lord Goderich replied to Sir Peregrine's letter and its enclosures in a lengthy letter, dated Aug. 2nd, 1832. From it we are obliged to make an extended quotation: "I am under the necessity of declining to comply with the wishes of the Governors of the College (Kings) by recommending the continuance of the grant which has heretofore been made to (?) Parliament for its support, and it is therefore not without some regret that I perceive by the minutes of their proceedings that they are of opinion that the proposed union of the Kings and Dalhousie Colleges ought only to take place upon certain conditions which, I fear, may oppose serious difficulties to that measure which appears to me to hold out the only practicable mode of preserving to the Province the advantage of an institution for Academical instruction. Had the resources available for the support of the college at Windsor been such as to admit of its being carried on as at present, I should certainly have abstained from recommending any change; but as this is not the case, as it must necessarily be dependant upon the liberality of the Legislature, I think it is unfortunate that the Governors have declared beforehand their intention of not agreeing to a union of Dalhousie College, except upon terms to which it is not probable that the assent of the Legislature would be given. Supposing it to be admitted that it would be desirable, if possible, to have a college constituted in the manner proposed by the Board of Governors, still, when the means do not exist of giving effect to their wishes in this respect, when the existence of any college whatever depends upon notions of what would be most advisable, being in some particulars departed from; it appears to me that such a concession should be made.

* Minutes with Mr. Archibald's memo. affixed will be found in Appendix to Journals for 1832.

As, therefore, it is impossible that a college should be established without the assistance of the legislature, I should hope that the Governors of the two existing institutions would consent to leave to the legislature, (which can best judge of what is required for the interest of the Province) the task of determining what is to be the constitution of the new establishment. On the other hand, I cannot doubt that the Assembly, if their discretion upon this point was left unfettered, would see the advantage of making ample provision for the support of a plan of liberal education, and would likewise consent to the appointment of those who will lose the situations they hold in the college at Windsor to similar situations in that which I trust will be created.*

To these recommendations, wise though they were, the Governors of Kings paid no attention. Dark days then fell upon them. Black care mounted their horse as if to stay. The Home Government's grant was withdrawn; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel withheld their subscription, and they were left with no revenue except the annual grant of £400 from the House of Assembly. The salaries of the professors were cut down, the President retired on a pension from the Imperial Parliament, and such was the uncertainty caused by so disastrous a state of affairs, that the college was reduced to *four* students.† At one time, the governors thought of applying to the Assembly for aid; but at Mr. Archibald (the speaker's) advice, they abandoned the idea. Still, amid all these difficulties, they remained firm. As the American said of the bull that butted a railway engine, "we can admire their pluck but not their judgment."

But we are anticipating. Early in 1833, Lord Stanley, father of the present Earl of Derby, succeeded Lord Goderich in the Colonial Office. He, too, in a happy ignorance, somewhat similar to that manifested by his predecessor on taking the seals, thought there were no great difficulties in the way of union. "I can scarcely allow myself to suppose," he writes, "that they will not be overcome when the subject has been duly considered by the Assembly.‡ As Lord Goderich before him had done, he recommends more liberal statutes than those the governors had proposed. Shortly before this letter was sent, Sir Peregrine Maitland was recalled, and Sir Colin Campbell appointed to the Lieut.-Governorship. Before Sir Colin had set out for the scene of his labors, Lord Stanley took occasion to give him some insight to the question, and instructed him to again lay the matter before the House of Assembly, and that as soon as possible. When Sir Colin arrived in Nova Scotia, he found that the union was attended with many more difficulties than the Colonial Secretary had supposed, and surrounded as he was with churchmen, it is little wonder that he began to sympathize with them in their determination to have one of their own denomination at the head of the united college. Accordingly he writes to Lord Glenelg, who had taken Lord Stanley's place, under date Feb. 18th, 1835, endeavoring to show that it was but reasonable that the president should be an Episcopalian, but admitting that so long as this restriction was made the Assembly would not sanction the desired union. For this reason he had refrained from sending any message to the Assembly about the matter, as also from the fact that he feared the House might retaliate by demanding the payment of

*No. 68, Vol. 9, in Record Office.

†Appendix to Journals for 1836, p. 121.

‡Appendix to Journals for 1837.

the loan to Dalhousie. With these stars weighing upon him, he had the audacity to propose that the funds of Dalhousie be given to Kings with all its restrictions, and to ask that the Parliamentary Grant to that institution be renewed.* On April 30th of the same year, Lord Glenelg replied to Sir Colin in a lengthy despatch. In opening, he remarks that the subject has now become so complicated by the length of time during which the controversy has lasted as to be no longer a question of collegiate discipline, but to involve the existence of any college at all in the Province. He next points out with what unanimity the Colonial Secretaries have written and worked in favor of union; and after explaining in detail his reasons (which were the ordinary oft-repeated ones) for agreeing with his predecessors, he calls on the Governors of Kings to surrender their charter, and trust to the Legislature to provide for them a popular constitution. If they did this, the Lieutenant-Governor was asked to express to the Assembly His Majesty's earnest hope that they would abstain from pressing for payment of the £5000 due them by Dalhousie College; or, if it were too late to do that, to appeal to their liberality for a grant. In the strongest terms Lord Glenelg recommends the transference of the institution from Windsor to Halifax. This he does, not only because the buildings of Dalhousie were commodious and permanent, but because of the greater number who would thus be enabled to attend.† The Governors of Kings met to consider this despatch soon after its receipt, and almost immediately adjourned to give the members of the board time to read and inwardly digest its contents. A committee was appointed to draft a reply. Besides their reply proper, they furnished the Colonial Secretary with an elaborate statement giving a sketch of the history of the college, and showing the work it had done, its present wants and resources.‡ These two documents form a perfect mine of information for the student of collegiate history in Nova Scotia to work. Let us examine them a little. In their reply the governors refuse to surrender their charter and give their reasons for so doing. They express a doubt as to whether the abandonment of either or both of the existing colleges would be followed by the erection, as they term it, of a Provincial College. But laying aside the reply, let us pass to the statement that accompanied it as being more important. A very short sketch of Dalhousie's history is given, and it is said that as yet "this establishment has proved a total failure; no attempt has been made to put it into operation." A legal difficulty regarding the surrender of the charter was dwelt upon and enforced. Kings was working as well under a Provincial Statute as under a Royal Charter, and even if the latter were resigned, the corporation would continue to exist under the former. In opposition to the commonly accepted, and we believe correct opinion, it was maintained that the buildings at Windsor were far more valuable and useful than those at Dalhousie, and so was it with their endowments. Kings possessed £643 unencumbered (£400 of this was annual Provincial Grant), while Dalhousie had only £248. But their chief reason for opposing union, the one string upon which they had been playing ever since the agitation began, was that Kings had been founded, and its endowments secured for the benefit specially of the Church of England, and that to unite with another college without having these facts recognized, would be committing a breach

* Appendix to Journals, 1836, p. 105.

† No. 72, Vol 2, in Record Office.

‡ These two papers form bulk of Appendix to Journals for 1836, to which we have so often referred.

of trust. The concluding sentences of the statement we are speaking of are worth quoting:—"In conclusion the committee (i.e. the committee appointed to draft answer to Colonial Secretary) remark that to obviate some of the difficulties connected with the question of Dalhousie College, it might be expedient and possible to arrange a plan of union with Windsor College as a part of that University, and in such a manner as to afford the students the advantage of lectures in town and an interchange of professors, while the funds and government of both institutions should be blended together." We need hardly say that the Colonial Secretary had sufficient sense not to encourage the growth of this hybrid college. The proposal, only feasible in the time when men can be sent as quickly as telegraph messages are now, was, in 1835, to say the least ludicrous.

The reply and statement were submitted to the Governors of Kings at their meeting in November, 1835. One of the committee who had prepared them, Mr. Charles R. Fairbanks, then Master of the Rolls, submitted an addendum that he wished to be affixed to them, and which was entered in the minutes. He suggests a way of smoothing over the difficulty—by annexing Dalhousie to the University at Windsor under the same government, but as a distinct member, placing it under a separate head, and having degrees conferred from the university on students who had studied at either or both of them. The idea would not be considered so far astray if the coffers of the two colleges were full to overflowing; but in the depleted state of both, it must have been regarded as absurd. Hon. J. W. Johnston, another governor, positively dissented from the reply—Mr. Fairbanks only made, as he himself says, an explanation of the sentiments under which he had joined in it—giving six reasons for his action in the matter. We are chiefly interested with the fifth, and sixth, which read as follows:—

5th. Because I conceive much injustice may arise from representing to His Majesty's Government Dalhousie College as a failure without thoroughly examining and explaining the causes, apparent and latent, which have prevented its establishment and success.

6th. Because I believe the establishment of one university in the Province on liberal principles, yet combining the instruction of students designed for the ministry of the Church of England in divinity, is practicable; and that such an establishment if placed in Halifax would command support, and diffuse benefits very extensively, and might be hoped to end those jealousies under which the cause of education has suffered so deeply in this Province.

Lord Glenelg replied to this elaborate answer in 1836; but by that date the dispute had become one simply between the Governors of Kings and the Colonial Secretary. All hope of union had died away, and the subsequent letters and proceedings are of no interest or importance to us in tracing Dalhousie's history. The curious might read the conclusion of the whole matter in Dr. Akins' "History of King's College."

We have in the preceding pages "delivered a round unvarnished tale" of the gallant attempt made by the heads of the Colonial Office to bring about a union of the colleges of Kings and Dalhousie. We have yet without, we fear, "adorning the tale" "to point a moral." Our readers will have noticed that in all the discussion that took place, the Governors of Dalhousie had neither part nor lot, save at the outset, when they acted as echo for their brethren of Kings. The part, small though it was, they then had was not greatly to their credit. They showed themselves willing to abandon those principles upon which Lord Dalhousie had founded the institution, of whose

interests, unfortunately, they had become the guardians. Undoubtedly a union with Kings under certain conditions was desirable; but in the way they proposed, at the sacrifice of the fullest and freest liberty in educational matters, emphatically it was not. Besides there was another and more natural union, one more easily obtained and more advantageous when obtained, for which they made no effort—a union with Pictou Academy. As the commencement of the Pictou Academy and the first movements for the founding of Dalhousie College were co-temporaneous, and have some hearings on each other, a few words here as to the relation of the two, and subsequently a brief allusion to the reason—heaven save the mark—which prevented a union will be very appropriate. When Lord Dalhousie assumed the reins of power the charter of the former institution had been granted, but classes had not been opened. Its friends were busy collecting funds; but, finding the means at their disposal insufficient for the purposes, they had appealed to him for his sympathy and aid. These he, without any special enquiry as to their object, readily gave. When, however, he became engaged in the establishment of Dalhousie College, he firmly set himself to resist any recognition of Pictou Academy as a College. Sound policy he thought required that it “should remain a school, and nothing but a school.” In a letter to Mr. Mortimer, the member for Pictou, dated 12th March, 1819, replying to a memorial of the trustees of the Pictou Academy, he says, “A college in Halifax, the capital of the Province, I do think an institution highly desirable, but not so in a distant corner of it as Pictou. I must therefore candidly express to you these my sentiments, and that it will be my duty to oppose the extension of your institution at Pictou beyond what was originally proposed, that of an Academy.” His Excellency is mistaken in supposing that in founding the Pictou Academy nothing more than a high school was intended. Its friends had always avowed their object to be to give to the youth of all denominations instruction in the ordinary branches of a collegiate course in arts. Nor were they tied to any particular location. We are safe in saying that had there been, at the time, in any other town in the Province, a college, whose advantages were equally free to all, no attempt for anything higher than an Academy in Pictou would have been made. The projectors of the Pictou institution and the Earl had then the same object in view, and one, when reviewing the facts, cannot help enquiring why they should not have united their efforts. The reason is not far to seek. Dr. McCulloch, the head and mainstay of the Pictou Academy, was a dissenter and extremely obnoxious to the official party in Halifax, and those who surrounded the Earl made such representations that he became strongly prejudiced against the Dr., even going the length of pronouncing him “a dangerous man.” And when Lord Dalhousie bade “good bye” to Nova Scotia, he left with his successor a statement of his views to the same effect. But Lord Dalhousie and Sir James Kempt were but two of a number of Governors by whom they were guided. The others, from a social standpoint, were all that could be desired. They were all “dressed in a little brief authority;” but they cared nothing for the College. Nay more, they would have been its bitterest enemies, if it gave promise of becoming at any time the rival of their first love, Kings. For Dr. McCulloch, and the institution of which he was the head, they had nothing but the most determined opposition. Hence it was that, though they must have felt that by uniting Pictou Academy and Dalhousie College they could best subserve the principles upon which both were founded, they made no effort to bring

about this consummation so devoutly to be wished. Nor did they ever endeavor to enlist public sympathy, or rally public support on behalf of the college. When Kings was made so thoroughly Episcopalian, one would think that it would have been easy to secure the assistance of the other denominations, embracing four-fifths of the population, in building up Dalhousie. While Dr. McCulloch, appealing to a small and feeble constituency, and only obtaining small grants from the Government, was carrying on his work with a fair measure of efficiency, the Governors of Dalhousie, holding their position by the mere accident of their being government officials, though receiving large grants from the public treasury, really took no active measures for commencing the work of instruction; but did little more than spend their time in fruitless negotiations for union with Kings. Mr. Howe, in one of his speeches, is reported to have spoken of Dalhousie College thus:—"It appears to have been the fate of this Institution to have had foisted into its management those who were hostile to its interests; whose names were in its trust, but whose hearts were in other institutions. These, if they did nothing against, took care to do nothing for it; their object was to smother it with indifference. Surrounded by such men, and clothed with a sectarian character for twenty-three years it stood a monument of folly. How true these statements, unfortunately were, our readers can judge!

There is, perhaps, no use in speaking of the "what might have been," and we shall not dwell any longer on so painful a subject. In what we have written we were not influenced by any desire to find fault, nor with the Irishman's idea of being against the Government; but we felt that our readers should be made aware of the causes through which the Governors of Kings were able to represent Dalhousie as a "total failure," and to boast that "no attempt had been made to put it into operation."

CHAPTER VII.

Another Demand for Payment of Loan—Sir Colin's Speeches.

It will be remembered that in 1823 the House of Assembly loaned £5000 to the Governors of Dalhousie for a period of five years; and that when it was due, an effort was made to have it immediately collected. The friends of the college were, however, able to postpone the demand for three years, and two years of grace were also allowed them; but in 1835 the House seemed bent on regaining the sum so loaned. Early in the session of that year, Mr. O'Brien moved two resolutions, the first of which was to the effect that the House require the payment of the loan. The purport of the second was that the Governor be requested to direct the Attorney-General to take such steps as were necessary for its collection. The first resolution was carried by a majority of six; to the second a Mr. Johnston moved a most extraordinary amendment which, in short, was that not only should the Governor take steps to recover the £5000, but also should endeavor to make available the original endowment fund, and devote it either to a Country Market, Public Hall, Poor Hospital, Lunatic Asylum, or Orphan House. For this singular amendment there were recorded three names, and Mr.

* See *Nova Scotia* for 1843, page 323.

O'Brien's second resolution carried. Next day Mr. Wilkins, who had been absent when these resolutions were passed, renewed the struggle by moving that they be rescinded; but his motion was lost on a vote exactly the reverse of that by which they had been carried. Of course, when the Lieut.-Governor was informed of the terms of this resolution, he replied that he would take such measures as might be necessary to carry into effect the request of the House; but, as the sequel shows, he did nothing of the kind. The Board of Governors, when they heard of the resolutions, called a meeting, and believing the House to be more in earnest than it really was, they wrote to Lord Dalhousie and the Chief Justice, (in whose name the moneys in England were deposited) asking them to direct such a transfer of these to be made as would enable them to pay off the loan, and some other debts. But the day was not so easily won. Sir Colin Campbell still had some hopes of union—so had the Colonial Secretary—and both feared that the withdrawal of the £5000 would be an effectual bar to the attainment of their wish. Accordingly, in the speech with which he opened the session of 1836, Sir Colin, among other things, said:—"The union of Kings and Dalhousie's having formerly been brought to your notice during the session of 1832 by the then Governor; and His Majesty's Government being desirous of bringing this protracted and important measure to a settlement, have instructed me to submit the subject again to your consideration, and they confidently trust that the House of Assembly will relinquish their claim made last session upon Dalhousie College, that there may be sufficient funds for establishing and maintaining an United College upon liberal principles."

A number of the members, who had the session before voted for the immediate collection, appeared to view favorably this suggestion of the Governor, and the House as a whole seemed willing to be convinced. At least they asked for statements of the funds of both colleges, for correspondence with the Colonial Secretary, for transcript of minutes of both Boards of Governors; in short, for all documents in the possession of the Lieut.-Governor that would throw any light on the subject of union, or on the condition of the two institutions. After some delay, no doubt necessary for preparing them, the required papers* were laid on the table of the House. In committee, these papers were considered on two occasions; but when the time came for the House to deal with them, Mr. Stewart moved a comprehensive resolution that (we are not quoting the exact words) while the House approved of having only one college, as the Governors of Kings refused to surrender their charter, and as the session was far advanced, the consideration of the information they had received be postponed, and further that the House suspend its claim to the £5,000. The previous question was at once moved, but negatived on a vote that showed that the majority in favor of the main resolution would be small. Two amendments were moved and lost. The third and most dangerous one came from Mr. DeWolfe. We cannot quote it fully, but the sum and substance of it was this,—that the loan *with interest* (it had been specially provided that interest was not to be paid) be collected and divided among the high schools of the Province. Had Mr. DeWolfe lived he would probably have supported that member, who not very long ago, thought it would be an excellent thing to have a college in every county town. We need not trace the struggle further than to say that two other amendments followed, and shared the same fate as their prede-

* Appendix to Journals, 1836.

cessors. The vote was taken on the original resolution, and decided in the affirmative by the casting vote of the speaker. Thus for another period the difficulties of Dalhousie Governors were smoothed away. The Lieut.-Governor, however, was only partially satisfied. Consequently, in his speech at the closing of the session, he said:—"I regret that the union of Kings and Dalhousie College, as submitted to you at the commencement of the session, and as recommended by His Majesty's Government, has been postponed. I trust that in the next session you will all co-operate in accomplishing this measure, as it is evident that there are not means within this Province for maintaining two colleges."

"Still harping on, my daughter." Nearly two years before it would not have required a prophet or a son of a prophet to foretell that the union was not to be. Yet here was Sir Colin gravely expressing his regret that the Legislature had postponed their consideration of the matter; (for we are charitable enough to assume that this is what he means when he speaks of postponing the union.) But then Sir Colin all through his tenure of office was more noted for his obstinacy than for any of those qualities we generally admire in men. We perhaps need not add that except by an occasional and casual reference, union between Kings and Dalhousie was never hereafter mentioned in the House of Assembly.

CHAPTER VIII.

Union with Pictou Academy—Dr. Crawley—An old Dalhousian's account of College Life, 1888-40.

In the preceding chapters we have described as best we could the founding of Dalhousie College. We have seen how liberally the Assembly supported it, and how zealously some of the Lieut.-Governors worked on its behalf. We have noticed the two attempts at union with Kings and how they proved abortive. We have briefly referred to the masterly inactivity of the Micawbers who composed the governing board, and kept Dalhousie's doors closed for well nigh a score of years. We would that now, as we are about to describe the opening of the College, we could say, "Treason has done his worst," and go on to tell of the work commenced under favorable auspices, and continued with ever increasing success.

We had occasion at the outset, in our short reference to the state of higher education in Nova Scotia, in and about the year 1818, to mention Pictou Academy. We stated there that it was established to meet the wants of the dissenters of all persuasions, but that owing to the action of the Council it had been turned into a Presbyterian Institution. As such it had continued, sometimes with good prospects for a long life of usefulness, but generally engaged in a severe struggle for existence. The year 1838 found it literally surrounded with enemies, always an object of hatred to the magnates in the Council, it had through their instrumentality become an object of suspicion to dissenters who were not Presbyterians. Worst of all, the Presbyterians as a whole would not rally to its support, but a large and important body of them were among its most bitter opponents, and strove in every possible way to detract from its efficiency. Notwithstanding all the opposition, its indomitable Principal, Dr. McCulloch, carried on his good work till at length an opportunity came for combining *otium cum dignitate*—for closing an

active life in peaceful quiet. Chiefly through the influence of S. G. W. Archibald, a Governor of Dalhousie, and a personal friend of Dr. McCulloch, a marriage was consummated between Pictou Academy and Dalhousie College; but the beneficial results expected from so natural and promising a union did not come. That this can be said is not the fault of either of the contracting parties, but of those who should have supported them. In order better to understand all the circumstances we must go back a little.

During the session of 1832, Pictou Academy had been granted £400 per annum for ten years, £250 of which was directed to be paid to Dr. McCulloch so long as he was Principal. Shortly after this date the question of union between Pictou Academy and Dalhousie College was mentioned, but never seriously discussed. At first Dr. McCulloch did not view the scheme with favor, and in 1835, when writing to a friend in Scotland, he used these words:—"It is, I know, the wish of some of my friends to force me into Dalhousie College, but to it, at the expense of the Academy, I am utterly repugnant."* By degrees, however, the proposal came to be more and more talked about, to be viewed more and more favorably, until finally by an Act passed in 1838, Dr. McCulloch and £200 of the grant to Pictou Academy were transferred to Dalhousie.

In addition to Dr. McCulloch, the Governors found themselves in a position to maintain two other professors. To the chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy they appointed the Rev. James McIntosh, and to that of Classics, the Rev. Alex. Romans, M. A. The Principal conducted the classes in Mental and Moral Philosophy. The gentlemen elected by the Governors were both ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, and unfortunately there was too much reason to believe that this was from design. Of course had they been the best men that could be obtained, and had they been elected on this ground, no person would have had a right to complain of their being members of that body; but it was too plain that the facts were otherwise. In the debates in the House of Assembly before the Act was passed, the name of Dr. Crawley, now the retired Principal of Acadia College, was mentioned as one of Dr. McCulloch's colleagues. Dr. Crawley did become one of the candidates for the chair in Classics. He was by long odds superior in attainments and qualifications to the others, but because of the narrow view taken by the Lieut.-Governor of Lord Dalhousie's words, "modelled after the University of Edinburgh," he was rejected. At this time, and for some years after, the Professors of Edinburgh University, though appointed by the Town Council, were obliged to be members of the Church of Scotland. Such was the law, but that it was not enforced, the election of Professors Kelland and Forbes to the chairs of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy respectively testifies. The adherents of the Church of Scotland were both numerous in Nova Scotia and influential, and their clergymen had the ear of Sir Colin. Him, they used as a tool to carry out their purposes, and having once got into his head that the words of Lord Dalhousie, which we have quoted, referred to the men to be chosen as professors, the most weighty arguments or most valid reasons to the contrary could not eliminate the idea. How manifestly silly their contention was, the whole tenor of Lord Dalhousie's correspondence shows,† and we shall not argue the matter. But we must point out their inconsistency. Dr. Mc-

* Robertson's *Missions to Nova Scotia*, p. 232.

† See Letters to Bathurst, Monk, and Kempt, on pages— —and—of this essay.

Culloch was not a member of the Established Church, yet he was made Principal. Then again, if it were modelled after the University of Edinburgh in regard to the men appointed as Professors, it must surely have been modelled after Edinburgh in the method of appointing. Yet none of the Governors, so far as we know, ever contended that the Professors of Dalhousie should be elected by the Town Council of Halifax. If, as Emerson says, "consistency be but the bugbear of little minds," no sneer at the mental abilities of Sir Colin and his fellow Governors can be tolerated.

One who attended Dalhousie College during Dr. McCulloch's presidency sends us the account of it we give below. In the next chapter, we shall furnish other information about the same period gleaned from various sources. Any references we ourselves might have made regarding the President or Professors we have suppressed, believing that pen pictures from one who sat at their feet would be more interesting as being more life-like.

"The institution was opened, I think, in October, but it might be November, 1838. I did not attend that year, and do not recollect of there being any special services at the inauguration. There was, of course, only the Arts Faculty. It consisted of the Rev. Thomas McCulloch, D. D., Principal and Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy and Political Economy; Rev. James McIntosh, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and Rev. Alexander Romans, M. A., Professor of Latin and Greek.

"Judging by the standard of the universities of older countries this may seem a very small staff, but it was larger than any college in this Province had at its commencement, and as large as any possessed up till that time, or for some years after. Indeed, until Dalhousie was started on its present basis, three Professors in the Arts was considered a good equipment for one of our Provincial colleges. Experience has shown that such a body of capable and thoroughly earnest men, if they cannot carry students as far forward as the fully equipped universities of other lands, may yet give students such a start in the study of Philosophy and Science, and so quicken their intellectual activities, as to fit them by proper industry in after life for filling the highest positions in society. As to the number of its Professors then, Dalhousie College was thought at the time to be fairly well equipped for a commencement.

"But as to their efficiency we cannot speak in the highest terms. Dr. McCulloch was its main stay. His capacity for teaching had been amply proved by twenty years' labor in the Pictou Academy, and his prodigious energy had been exhibited in the herculean efforts in which he had built up that institution in circumstances so difficult, and maintained it so long against overwhelming odds. But his constitution was much broken down by toil and struggle. He was not so old; he was only 62 but seemed much older. Five years later, when he died, people were astonished to learn that he was only 67. He had been so long before the public, and so long had borne the marks of failing strength, that many could scarcely credit that he was under eighty years of age. His intellect was now as clear and vigorous as ever. The work of his class-room, except as it might be interrupted by illness, was as efficiently conducted as ever. But physically he was much broken down. There was a worn and weary look in his eye, which betokened that the old warrior needed rest, and perhaps was longing for it; his movements indicated feebleness, and his often infirmities showed how, with his unwearied spirit, and amid the toils and struggles of a life without a holiday, his clayey tabernacle had been undermined. The indomitable will, however, remained,

and he continued at his work in difficulties under which ordinary men would have succumbed. One day we would hear of his being sick in bed; the next we would see him entering the class-room with pale face and feeble steps, and go through his lectures, while all his determination could not suppress the expression in his features of the pain he was suffering; and then, we would think, almost tottering, leave, it might be to return to bed. Thus, however, efficiently the work of his classes might be conducted, he was no longer capable of those exertions outside by which he so long upheld the Pictou Academy, and which to some extent were still necessary to build up a new institution. Indeed we think that he looked upon the act which placed him at the head of Dalhousie College, as affording a quiet haven, in which he might spend the evening of his days in peace.

"Both the other professors were ministers of the Church of Scotland. The Rev. James McIntosh was a native of the North of Scotland and became minister of St. James' Church, Charlottetown, in 1830, thence he removed to Halifax, where he taught a High School or Academy, till his appointment to Dalhousie. He was a man of at least respectable talents and fair scholarship. But in no respect was he a man of that high standard needed to build up a new university. Indeed the social life of Halifax was already telling on him, and inducing or strengthening those habits which, not a very long time after, led to his deposition from the ministry.

"Mr. Romans was a native of Halifax; studied first at the Pictou Academy, but afterwards took a full course at the University of Edinburgh. In the year 1835, he was ordained pastor of the congregation of Dartmouth, but being inadequately supported, taught a school in Halifax until he was appointed Classical Professor in Dalhousie College. He was a fair classical scholar, and against his character nothing could be said. But "he was not the man for Galway."

"Neither of these ever commanded the entire respect of the students, nor did either of them carry that influence and weight in the community which would give the institution prestige with the public. But it must be said that if they had been stronger men than they were, the fact that it was believed they had been put into their positions not from any superior merit, but because of their connexion with the Church of Scotland, and to the exclusion of better men, excited prejudices against them, and the minds of persons of other denominations, which would have been a hindrance to their success and an obstacle to the progress of the college.

"Thus the reputation and progress of the institution mainly depended on Dr. McCulloch. He might be said to be the Atlas on whose shoulders the whole concern rested. But, besides the difficulty from his enfeebled health, there were others of a formidable character. The institution had neither library nor apparatus. The use of some philosophical apparatus belonging to the Mechanics' Institute, which had long had the use of the west wing of the building for a lecture room, and of the east for a museum was, obtained for the Natural Philosophy class, but there was nothing of the kind belonging to the College.

"Then there was still strong personal hostility to himself. The controversies in which he had been engaged had been carried on with great bitterness. Those who had opposed his work at Pictou had even more keenly opposed his elevation to the Presidency of Dalhousie, and looked with no favorable eye upon his work. The Board of Governors were not very warm, some of them, indeed, were cold enough in their support of the effort. The

Secretary was a Baptist, the intimate associate of Dr. Crawley, and fully sympathized with him in his views and plans, while the agitation, in consequence of the manner in which the other Chairs had been filled, drew away sympathy from the institution, or excited prejudice against it in the minds of many. Thus he had to contend, not only against enfeebled health, but with the difficulties of inadequate appliances, inefficient colleagues, personal enmity, half-hearted support, and to a certain extent, hostile public opinion.

"How many students attended I am unable to say. There was a book kept in which the names of all in attendance were duly entered, but I am informed it cannot now be found. I append a list of those whom I remember, but as I was there only two out of five terms, there must have been a number unknown to me.*

"Considering the state of the Grammar Schools, as the schools of a higher grade were then called, the nearest then existing to our present academies; considering also, that from the state of our collegiate institutions for some time previous, the Pictou Academy being about down, and Dalhousie hitherto idle, young men had had so little encouragement to prepare for college, the attendance at the commencement was as large as could have been expected. There is, indeed, enough to show that the time was favorable for setting such an institution on foot, and that if it had been conducted as to give general satisfaction, the attendance would soon have been large.

"One circumstance I know injured the attendance after the first year—that was the plan of having only one term of seven, or actually of six and a half, months in the year. This was the Scottish system; but people here were unaccustomed to it. The English colleges spread their work more over the year. Windsor followed the same course. The Pictou Academy had two terms of four months, with vacations of two months between. The students from the country would not have objected to the one term system, as they would have found employment during the vacation which would have helped to support them during the following term, but parents in Halifax who sent their sons to the institution felt it intolerable to have their sons idle, as they deemed it, during nearly half the year. From this cause I know that a number after attending one term went to other institutions. Just at that time St. Mary's College received as its teachers two highly popular priests—Fathers O'Brien and Deas, and their classes were opened with great *éclat*. In Halifax, Protestant parents, finding Dalhousie closed during the summer, sent their sons to its Catholic neighbour, sometimes after they had attended the former during the winter.

"As to the diligence, in study and general conduct of the students there was every variety. Some were diligent and faithful in their work, and blameless in their whole deportment, but an unusual proportion were the reverse. The latter were principally boys from Halifax. Those who came from the country generally came to study, but a number of those from town seemed bent only on amusement. There was also a spirit of insubordination among them, and neither Mr. Romans nor Mr. McIntosh could maintain proper authority over them. Sometimes they were rebellious when a number would be brought before the whole faculty with threats of expulsion. With Dr. McCulloch they could take no liberties. His appearance and manner commanded respect, indeed generally excited awe in the minds of young men; but where students really desired to make progress, he showed such interest

* See Appendix B, p. —.

in all that concerned them, and such anxiety for their welfare, that their veneration became mingled with the warmest affection. Even the most unruly were generally calmed to submission before him; a word, or even a look from him, producing a deeper impression than any amount of petty scolding from his colleagues. Only once that ever I heard of did a student dare to rebel before him. He bowed his head, if I mistake not, let fall a tear, at all events, said in tones in which the expression of pain overcame anger: "This is the first time I have been insulted (or perhaps it was so insulted) in a class-room in my life." And I venture to say it was the last. I trust the lad felt and remembered for good the reproof. All the others present did.

"We had no organized system of sport. Football was not then known, and cricket not generally played. Baseball was the universal game among boys, but we collegians did not as a body engage in it. Individuals might indulge in it, but it was on their own private responsibility, and I think that there was a sort of feeling that such proceeding was scarcely becoming their present elevation, and that we looked out upon a younger generation so exercising and enjoying themselves, perhaps with pride that we were raised to an eminence where we were above such trifling pursuits, or more likely with envy, and regret that our dignity precluded us from sharing in them. The only society among us was the Debating Society, which met weekly, and at which discussions were conducted with considerable spirit. The western wing was occupied by the Mechanics' Institute for popular lectures in Science or Literature by such men as A. McKinlay, Dr. Grigor, George R. Young, Joseph Howe, etc., and the students found much pleasure and some profit in attending. The east wing, as we have said, was occupied by the same Association as a museum, and was thrown open at the same time. It was a respectable collection, and formed the nucleus of the present Provincial Museum.

"No degrees were actually conferred. The course of study was arranged as in the Scottish Universities with the view of granting the M. A. degree at the end of it. Students passed through the curriculum with that expectation. One of those who did so told me that he had his certificates of having regularly attended all the classes in the course, and that it had been promised that he should have his degree as soon as arrangements could be made for the purpose. Dr. McCulloch also promised those of us who had taken part of our course at the Pictou Academy, that when this was done he would do his part to secure that we should have the same privilege. What was wanting in their arrangements for conferring such honors I cannot say; but presume that it was that particular regulations as to the terms required of candidates had not been prepared or approved by the Governors. At all events, Dr. McCulloch died, and they were never granted.

"The effort came abruptly to an end by the death of Dr. McCulloch on the ninth day of September, 1843, just when the work of the institution for that season had commenced. Teaching was continued by the other Professors during that term, and then the institution was closed.

"Looking back now at the effort made at this time, we can see in the after lives of a number who then attended its classes, that it was not altogether in vain. But the more we examine the whole circumstances the more reason we will see to condemn and mourn over the shortsighted and narrow-minded policy of those having the management of it, through which so fine an opportunity of building up the collegiate education of the country upon a broad and liberal basis was lost, we fear, forever."

CHAPTER IX.

Further Particulars—Bills of 1840 and 1841—Minutes of Governors.

We have given the account so kindly furnished us by an old Dalhousian in full and without change. We shall now supplement it with a very few additions, which we ourselves were able to glean from other sources. The Governors advertised for applications for Professorships in August, 1838, without any mention of their intention to only elect members of the Church of Scotland. Applications were received until Sept. 15th, on which date they met and appointed Messrs. McIntosh and Romans. Notice had previously been given that the College would be opened on the 1st of October, but at this meeting the Governors postponed the opening until a month later. At length, on November 1st, everything was in readiness, and the work commenced. The official time-table published in the public prints for some time before that date, is as follows:—

1. Latin, from 8 to 9 o'clock morning, by the Rev. Prof. Romans.
2. Greek, " 10 to 11 " " "
3. Greek and Latin 12 to 1 o'clock afternoon " "
4. Algebra, from 10 to 11 o'clock morning, by the Rev. Prof. McIntosh.
5. Logic, from 11 to 12 noon, by the Rev. Dr. McCulloch.
6. Rhetoric, from 1 to 2 afternoon, " "
7. Mathematics, from 8 to 9 o'clock morning, by the Rev. Prof. McIntosh.
8. Moral Philosophy, 10 to 11 " " " Dr. McCulloch.
9. Natural Philosophy, 12 to 1 " afternoon, Rev. Prof. McIntosh.

Evening classes in Composition and Logic were conducted by the Rev. President, and in Mathematics, by the Rev. Prof. McIntosh. The latter, it may also be observed, gave, during the first session, a series of popular lectures on scientific subjects, which were very favorably spoken of.

As our readers will see, the time-table is very meagre, and gives but little information as to the work. Yet, as far as we have been able to learn, this was about the course—though the *personnel* of the staff was changed—that was followed for the few years the College was in operation.

In 1840 Sir Colin having been recalled, an effort that very soon proved successful was made to do away with the restrictions, that chiefly through his instrumentality had been imposed. At the same time it was deemed advisable to give to the College a new Board of Governors. Of its former Board, the Governor-General was necessarily absent and could take no part in the proceedings, and the Chief Justice, having ceased to be President of the Council, it was doubtful whether he was entitled to a seat. In consequence only four were really capable of acting as Governors. The occasion, therefore, was a propitious one for getting rid of the figureheads who had done nothing for Dalhousie. Accordingly, on the 15th of January, 1840, Mr. Howe introduced a Bill to bring about these changes. Without amendment the House passed the measure on the 2nd of March, and sent it to the Council. These worthies made several amendments, to which the House subsequently agreed. The chief one had reference to the method of filling vacancies. As finally adopted the arrangement was, that whenever a

vacancy should occur on the governing Board, the Council and House should alternately nominate three persons, from whom the Lieut.-Governor should select one. It was further enacted that there must be at least twelve Governors, exclusive of the Lieut.-Governor and President of the College. Clause V. gives to the institution the usual privileges of a university, such as granting degrees, etc., and Clause VI repeats the principle laid down in the preamble, that no religious test should be required of teachers or students. Another amendment of the Council was to the effect, that the Act should not go into force until His Majesty's consent to its provisions had been obtained.

Whether the College could have been successfully operated under the government of the Board appointed in terms of this Act is doubtful. There was, perhaps, energy enough among its members, and some who were ever the best friends of Dalhousie were placed upon it, but such was its constitution that there was little hope of unanimity in its counsels. In a dispatch dated 16th June, 1840, Lord John Russell, the Colonial Secretary, intimates that the new Act was objectionable on account of the way the Governors were to be appointed. "It is not desirable," he says, "in the choice of rulers for a collegiate institution that the Assembly should exercise any control; for it can scarcely fail in the result to happen that the party feelings by which the Houses of Legislature are continually animated should be infused into the College." The Legislature did not repeal the clause as suggested, but set to work upon a new Bill. Mr. Huntington introduced the measure on 9th February, 1841. When it came to its third reading, Mr. Young, the late Sir William, moved that Clauses V. and VI. as in the former Act referring, as will be remembered, to privileges and tests, should be added—an amendment that was at once agreed to. On this occasion the Council made no changes. The two Acts are throughout strikingly similar. The preambles are exactly the same. The clauses referring to the number of Governors and their appointment are not nearly so definite in the latter as in the former. For example, the Governor-in-Council, who by terms of the Act of 1841, have the power of making appointments, may appoint "such and so many fit and proper persons as may be deemed proper to be Governors of said Dalhousie College." The Governor-in-Council did not exercise the power thus granted them until more than a year had elapsed.

In 1842 the House of Assembly considered the question of grants to the Colleges, and Dalhousie came in for its share of the spoils. Acadia and St. Mary's were given £444 odd each per year; Dalhousie only £400. At least such were the terms of the resolutions adopted on Saturday, the 5th of March. A motion by Mr. DesBarres to cut off the grant to Acadia had not passed. Such were the condition of affairs on Saturday. The members, we will assume, considered the matter prayerfully and carefully over Sunday, and on Monday, when they resumed their seats, proceeded to stultify themselves. Mr. DeWolf opened with a resolution to rescind that part of the Saturday resolutions which gave a grant to Dalhousie. His resolution carried on the exceedingly close vote of 24 to 23. Mr. Huntingdon followed with a resolution to rescind the grant to Acadia, and it was carried by a vote of 30 to 17. Mr. Forrestall performed the same labor of love for St. Mary's, and by a still larger majority his motion passed. To farther complicate matters, the House had no sooner finished the work of repealing their own legislation, than the Solicitor-General announced that the Council had sent a communication suggesting a grant of money to the Colleges; but we read that, having due regard to the privileges of the House, the message could not be

considered. During Monday night, conscience or indigestion, or something akin, seems to have troubled the members. At any rate, we find them on Tuesday morning coming to their places in the House, and solemnly setting to work to cancel what they had done on Monday. They had been voting large sums for various purposes in committee of supply on Monday afternoon, and it may be that thus their hearts had been opened. However that may be, they granted, on conditions easily fulfilled, £444 to Acadia and St. Mary's annually for 3 years and £400 on like conditions to Dalhousie for 2 years. Motions to reject these resolutions were defeated by an unchanging vote of 29 to 17. Any comment on these performances is unnecessary; but we venture the assertion that the like has never been seen in any other legislative body, and probably never will. They stand alone unique in their absurdity.

Her Majesty's Commission under the Great Seal of the Province, bearing date the 27th May, 1842, appointed Lord Falkland (the Lieut.-Governor), the Hon. Alex. Stewart, the Hon. Wm. Young, the Hon. Hugh Bell, Chas. W. Wallace, John Whidden, John E. Fairbanks, Dr. Wm. Grigor, Mather B. Almon, Chas. Twining, William Lawson, Jr., James F. Gray, Hugh Hartshorne, Dr. Rufus S. Black, John E. Starr, Dr. Alex. F. Sawers, and Dr. John McDonald—17 in all—Governors. The First meeting was held in Government House on Tuesday, 5th July, 1842, when all, except Mr. Almon, were present. Mr. Hartshorne resigned his position as Governor to accept the secretaryship of the Board, and Mr. Wallace was elected treasurer—the office his father had previously held. A committee of five, consisting of Messrs. Stewart, Young, Gray, Twining, and Dr. Black, were appointed to prepare a code of statutes for the government and regulation of the College, as well as to collect all the information possible regarding the state of the funds, and the number of students. It was farther resolved that Lord Falkland make enquiries in England for a suitable Professor in Modern Language, offering a salary of £150 currency, with half the fees additional. The Professor was also to be allowed to increase this salary by taking *female* pupils out of college hours. Some discussion took place as to the advisability of withdrawing the original endowment fund from British to Provincial securities, but on mature consideration, the Governors decided to leave it as it was.

At the second meeting held on November 2nd, of the same year, the statutes, prepared by the special committee, were fully considered and adopted, with one exception. A third meeting was called a fortnight later to discuss this one exception, at which a new member, Mr. Frith, is present for the first time. The clauses under discussion, the 14th, had reference to the number of Professors and the work that each should do. As amended at this meeting it provided for three Professorships, one in Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric and Logic; a second in Classics and Mathematics, and a third in Modern Languages. Rev. President McCulloch fills the first, Rev. James McIntosh the second, and Rev. Prof. Romans is, with a well-worded resolution of regret at losing his services and the payment of his salary for six months longer, shelved.

Let us glance for a moment at these statutes. As might be supposed the first is the most important, and we cannot do otherwise than quote it in full:—
 "This College shall be conducted on the principle that it is quite possible to establish and manage such an institution on a footing of entire liberality on the point of religion, and at the same time to cultivate in the minds of the students sentiments of piety and virtue. Candidates of any religious

denomination therefore will be eligible to the offices of instruction, and from the students and graduates no religious test will be demanded, but all the advantages and honors of the Institution will be open to all classes without distinction. It will be the duty of the Professors to carry this leading principle into practice, by avoiding any attempt to bias the students in favor of any particular denomination, while at the same time they shall carefully watch over their moral conduct and general deportment."

When the Governors were asked by the House of Assembly if they were disposed to coöperate in founding and endowing one Provincial University, independent of denominational or sectarian control, they could and did point to this statute and say that it contained the best answer they could give to the enquiry. Mr. Geo. R. Young, too, when fighting the one College battle, was able with pride to say of Dalhousie, "It has a charter free as the air we breathe." And so may it ever be!

The remaining statutes, fifteen in all, have nothing, or almost nothing, remarkable about them on account of which we should direct special attention to them. They are just such regulations as we would expect, fixing the amount of fees, the number of Professors, the Academical habit, the dates of examination, etc., etc. It might be well, however, to notice that the course for a degree of B. A. was to cover three years of two terms each, the terms extending from the latter end of January, until the first of July, and again from the 1st of September to the 15th December; an arrangement that removed a serious obstacle in the way of the College's progress. A Bachelor of Arts seven years after his matriculation, if he paid library and other fees in the meantime, was entitled to his M. A. These Masters, whether wisely or not, would be a matter of dispute, along with the Professors composed the Convocation, a body whose duties are not clearly defined, but which had jurisdiction over many, but not all of the internal affairs of the College. Another statute provided that no person could matriculate under 14 years of age, and strangely enough, at the very next examination, two candidates, sons of two of the Governors, were not of the required age. These, the Governors allowed to enter, and probably never afterwards sought to put the statute in force.

Accompanying the code of laws the committee sent "a synopsis of the attendance of the students from 1838 to the present time, by which at one view are exhibited their number, names, studies, and the period attended." Unfortunately this most valuable and interesting of documents is not to be found.

At a subsequent meeting in the same year, after a lot of minor matters of business had been transacted, the Governors resolved that the Secretary prepare a memorial from this Board to the House of Assembly, proposing to invest in the Provincial funds the amount belonging to the College then invested in the British funds, and praying that the debt due by the College to the Province might be relinquished.*

*The minutes from which we have been quoting were furnished the House of Assembly in answer to a request by them for information regarding the College, and may be found in Appendix 29, Journals for 1840.

CHAPTER X.

Session of 1843—Minutes of Governors—Disasters—Sketch of Life of Dr. McCulloch.

The winter session of the College for 1843 was opened on Tuesday, the 31st January. The papers of that date contain some accounts of the ceremonies performed, and the addresses given, on that occasion. As this is the only convocation, if we may use our modern term, of these early days of which we can furnish a description, we quote almost in full the *Day Star's* account of the proceedings :*—"Pursuant to notice, the session of this Institution was opened yesterday at two o'clock, when the hall of the Institution was filled by an anxious and attentive audience. His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor and Lady Falkland were there, as also the members of the Councils, the Speaker and Members of the Assembly, His Worship the Mayor, several of the Aldermen, and other members of the corporate body, and though last not least, many of the fair daughters of Acadia.

"The Rev. Dr. McCulloch, Principal of the College, delivered the opening address, in which he entered largely into the vast advantages and benefits which education was calculated to impart, and the high destiny to which man, through the cultivation and extension of the faculties of mind, was capacitated to attain.

"He maintained that the time had passed when men considered that rank and wealth entitled them to a monopoly of intelligence, and that it was sufficient for the lower to read their Bible, obey their superiors, and discharge the duties of their several avocations in life—when they were considered by the wealthy and the powerful as merely links in the chain of creation between them and the lowest order of animated nature,—when the great and rich thought, like those who reared the Pyramids of Egypt, to raise a monument of fame built on the degradation of their fellow men.

"The Rev. Prof. McIntosh next addressed the audience, taking a summary view of the vast accession to human knowledge, comfort and wealth, which the cultivation of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and the Sciences based thereon had given to the world, alluding particularly to the practical results which had followed the application of such studies in the adaptation of steam to so many of the most important purposes of life, preparing and putting together the requisite materials, and then ploughing with them the ocean by its own power—grinding for man his corn,—performing his various employments, and leaving him little more than a spectator of its wondrous power. * * * * *

"His Excellency, Lord Falkland, then arose, and in a neat and appropriate speech conveyed to Dr. McCulloch and his coadjutor, on behalf of himself and the other Governors of the Institution, the high sense of the gratification they had derived from the addresses delivered by them on this occasion. His Excellency also added that he embraced the present opportunity of expressing the warm interest he took in the welfare of the College, and his earnest and anxious desire for its success, and that any suggestions which the Rev. Principal should make that might tend to the improvement of the Institution, would always receive the

* See *Guardian*, vol. 5, page 243.

attention of His Lordship, and his active coöperation in carrying out such views as would be likely to advance the interests of the College and the Province, to the fullest extent in his power.

"In reply to these remarks from His Excellency, the Rev. Dr. McCulloch stated that he should endeavor to merit support by acting as he had hitherto done, in the capacity of a *father* as well as a *teacher* of the pupils committed to his care for instruction."

We have already seen the curious contortions used by the House of Assembly in 1842 before it finally decided to give grants to the Colleges. In 1843 the whole matter was reconsidered. Early in the session this reconsideration was made the order of the day, but was not reached till the 24th of February. Then the committee of the whole House reported that they had come to the following resolution:—"Resolved that the policy heretofore pursued of chartering and endowing Collegiate Institutions of a Sectarian or Denominational character is unsound and ought to be abandoned." Well would it have been for higher education in Nova Scotia if this resolution had been acted upon! Mr. S. R. Fairbanks moved that it be not received, but that the House adopt one which he read, embodying the clap-trap arguments about "combining and fostering religious and moral improvement with secular instruction," and going on to say that it would be unwise and unjust to prostrate the denominational colleges by withdrawing from them the support from the public funds. After some discussion the original resolution carried. The principle for which the consolidationists of our own day have been contending was thus affirmed, but, as we shall see, not put into practice. The same day on which the resolution passed, a committee was appointed to draft a Bill in accordance with its terms. The best men in the Legislature, it seems, had determined to found one University for the whole Province, and largely support it with public funds; but they were balked in their efforts. Still some progress was made. We find Mr. Annand, chairman of the committee just mentioned, moving, on the 16th March, that the House on Saturday next resolve itself into a committee of the whole to consider "of the site of the proposed University for Nova Scotia." The subject thus became the order of the day, but was postponed from time to time, and finally not reached at all. The denominations which had their pet institutions had been hard at work. They had sought to be heard at the bar of the House, and, failing in that, had succeeded in influencing a few of the members, and the anti-consolidationists in the House finding themselves strengthened, renewed the struggle on behalf of denominational colleges. Mr. Dodd moved what was virtually Mr. Fairbanks' resolution, though couched in different language. Mr. Howe fearing defeat, moved that the House do adjourn, and just managed to carry his motion. During the rest of the session we hear nothing about the site of the proposed university. The true friends of higher education dared not risk a battle.

Turning again to the minutes we find that for the early meetings of 1843 they are devoid of interest. Prof. McIntosh is reimbursed, for some apparatus he had purchased, to the value of £60. A part of the college, formerly occupied by a Mr. Rice as a shop, leased to the Post Office authorities for a period of three years, and the Governors thus obtained a good paying tenant, the only one in three that was; for we find that the Mechanics' Institute and Museum, and Infant's School were free. After considering the applications of a number of candidates for the chair in Modern Languages, that of M. Lacoste, a French gentleman, residing in New York, was regarded most

favorably, and he was accordingly appointed. M. Lacoste, unfortunately, had hardly entered on his duties ere death took him. He had arrived in Halifax on August 9th, in time to begin work at the commencement of the second term. On what day he died we do not know; but the minutes of the 22nd September tell us that the Secretary of the Board was ordered "to apply for, and take out in his own name, letters of administration of the estate of the late M. Lorenzo Lacoste."

But this was not the most serious blow the College received during this year; for

"When troubles come they come not single spies,
But in battalions."

Scarcely had the work of the new term commenced than the students, community, and Province were startled at the news of Dr. McCulloch's death. It was widely known that he was sick, though he had been in his class-room only a few days before, but so often previously had he been laid aside by temporary illness that the worst was not feared. Great hopes of his recovery were entertained by his physicians and family until within the last few hours, when it was seen that he was sinking rapidly. At five o'clock in the evening of September 9th, 1843, the soul of the valiant old warrior, the hero of a hundred fights, left the worn out clay and winged its way to those better realms where the weary are at rest. It was a bad thing for Dalhousie and the Province that the dread messenger came so soon, but who that has read of Dr. McCulloch's labors would not say

"Vex not his ghost! O, let him pass! he hates him
That would upon the rack of this tough world
Stretch him out longer!"

It is incumbent upon us at this stage to sketch the life of Dalhousie's first Principal, and we shall do it as shortly as the subject will permit.

The Rev. Thos. McCulloch, D. D., was born in the parish of Neilston, Renfrewshire, Scotland, about the year 1776. He was educated at the University of Glasgow, where, in addition to his arts course, he took a full course in medicine. Belonging to what was known as the Antiburgher branch of the Secession Church, he entered upon the study of Theology under Prof. Archibald Bruce, at Whitburn, in the year 1795, or when he was only 19 years of age. He was ordained pastor of a congregation at Stewarton, Ayrshire, on the 13th June, 1799; but impressed with the urgent calls from this country for ministers, he resigned his charge in 1803, and offered his services for the Nova Scotia mission. Having been accepted, he left his native land, and arrived at Pictou in November of that year. To the people of that place he preached during the winter, and in the spring of 1804 was inducted as their pastor.

He entered diligently upon the discharge of his duties, though his field was but a limited one; but his mind was too active to confine its attention to the interests of a single congregation. Besides his interest in general church work, he took from the first an interest in public affairs. He early contributed to the newspaper press, and soon came into prominence by a controversy (into which circumstances led him) on the questions at issue between Catholics and Protestants. His opponent was the Rev. Edmund Burke, afterwards the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Nova Scotia, in whom he found a "foeman worthy of his steel." To this discussion Dr. McCulloch contributed two thick 12 mo. volumes,—one in 1808, entitled, "Popery condemned by

Scripture and the Fathers," and the second two years later, entitled, "Popery again condemned, etc." Whatever opinion may be held of the questions in dispute, or however much one may regret the *theologicum odium* so evident in these books, every reader will be impressed with the mental power of the author, while the learning displayed is, considering his circumstances, truly astonishing.

Still it was in education that he was chiefly to make his mark upon our Provincial History. As early as the year 1805, scarce two years after his arrival, he projected an institution for the higher branches of education; but the difficulties in the way were found so serious that it was laid aside at the time, though never lost sight of.

Soon after, to improve the education of the district, he opened a superior school in a log house, which was shortly after burned down one Sabbath morning, undoubtedly by malicious incendiarism. In the year 1811, when the Legislature passed an Act granting £100 per annum for a Grammar School in each County, and in each of the districts of Colchester, Pictou, and Yarmouth, he obtained the grant for the one under his charge, and held it for a number of years. The success of this school revived the idea of founding a College. Under his inspiration a society was formed "for providing the means of instruction in the branches of a liberal education which are not taught in the Provincial Grammar Schools;" and on their petition an Act of Incorporation was granted to the trustees in 1816. Dr. McCulloch became the first President of the Pictou Academy founded by them, and for the next 20 years the building up of the institution was the great work of his life.

We need not enumerate the ordinary difficulties he encountered,—they are sufficiently known to every person; but there was one, in some respects more serious than all, the full force of which his friends and he did not at the time realize. This was the opposition of the Council, then the Government of the day, and their supporters. It is not our part to trace the struggles of the Pictou Academy, but simply to give an outline of his labours in connection with it. The first term opened on the 4th of May, 1818, with him as sole Professor. The classes at first met in a room of a private house, but the building of the institution was finished the next year, and at their formal opening Dr. McCulloch delivered a lecture, afterwards published in pamphlet form, entitled, "The Nature and Uses of a Liberal Education." In the second term an additional teacher was added, but he still taught Greek, Logic, Rhetoric, Moral, and Natural Philosophy. A little later he was relieved of the first, but he continued to teach the other branches as long as he was connected with the Academy, or indeed, as long as he lived. In each of these he wrote a system for himself. Divers as were the subjects taught, he taught them all well. Old pupils of his, who subsequently visited other seats of learning, speak in terms of the highest admiration of his excellence as a teacher, one of them going so far as to say that never till he saw the Professors of Edinburgh did he know the greatness of Dr. McCulloch; * and were any other proof needed than this, the fact, that three of his earliest students passed successfully the examination for an M. A. degree at Glasgow without any other instruction than they received from him, amply supplies the deficiency.

His labors in teaching were only a part of his efforts on behalf of the

* See *History of Pictou County*, p. 330-1.

institution. Its whole life was a hard fight for existence, partly before the Legislature, where the majority of the Council were opposed to granting aid, and partly against opposition without. His pen was constantly employed in various ways, writing petitions to the Legislature and appeals to the public, and carrying on almost uninterrupted controversy through the press. More than once he visited his native land seeking and getting assistance. With the object of awakening an interest in education, he visited Halifax, St. John, and many other towns of the Lower Provinces delivering popular lectures on scientific subjects, illustrated by experiments—the first of the kind ever delivered in British North America. With the help of his family he collected a museum of Natural History, in which the collection of native birds was pronounced by Audobon the finest he had seen in North America. All this he did in addition to his regular pastoral and synodical work. He did not resign his charge of his congregation till 1824, and never ceased to be a most active member of Synod, the leading spirit in all its measures, and the author of many of its public documents. As soon as a class of young men had completed an Arts course under him, he undertook the instruction of those who proposed entering the ministry in Theology and Hebrew. For his class in the former subject, he carefully prepared a course of lectures, published since his death under the title, "Calvinism, the doctrine of the Scriptures."

During most of his career his pen was busy in other ways. Besides the productions already mentioned, we find a sermon, "The prosperity of the Church in troublous times," published in 1814, and an address delivered in Halifax, "Words of Peace," given to the public in 1817. His contributions to the newspapers of the day were numerous and of varied style. Some of them were controversial; others were bright and amusing. In particular in the years 1822-3 he published in the *Acadian Recorder*, under the signature of Mephibosheth Stepsure, a series of light sketches of the social habits of the people of Nova Scotia, and so graphic and true to life were they, that in every part of the Province persons were found who were supposed to be represented in the Parson Drone, Solomon Gosling, Bill Scamp, or others of his characters. In the same paper, also, first appeared a tale of colonial life of a more serious nature, entitled "William," which, with another called "Melville," was published in Edinburgh in 1826, under the title "Colonial Gleanings."

These were not all. In the year 1827, a newspaper, the *Patriot*, was started in Pictou, the first in the Lower Provinces to attack the old irresponsible system of Government. Dr. McCulloch at first refrained from writing for it, but afterwards irritated by the treatment he had received from the official party, and stung by what he considered a personal insult offered him by the Lieut.-Governor, he lent his pen to the object of that journal, and afterwards the most vigorous articles in its columns were written by him.

In addition to all this, when Sir Walter Scott's novels appeared, in which the Covenanters were, as he considered, caricatured, he planned a series of tales to counteract these false representations. At least one of these was written, in which he lashed the vices of the minions of Charles II. and his brother James II., but it has never been published.

Such an amount of active labour as he performed during the years of his connexion with Pictou Academy has seldom been crowded into the life of any man. It was more than any human frame could stand, and though his indomitable spirit had borne him through, his constitution was much broken,

and he was plainly prematurely old, when in 1838, he was transferred to Dalhousie. The five years of his Presidency was the great calm that follows a storm. Through them he lived a life of peaceful usefulness until he was summoned home.

The rewards of his efforts on behalf of Education, Religion, or whatever cause he espoused, he found in the consciousness of doing right, and the certainty of some day hearing his beloved Master say, "Well done, good and faithful servant." Still he was not without a share of honor even in this life. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity twice,—first from Union College, Schenectady, New York, and secondly from his Alma Mater, Glasgow. And though in his case in a large measure it was true that

"What we have we prize not to the worth,
Whilst we enjoy it,"

he lived long enough to hear some of those who had been among his bitterest enemies bear testimony to the correctness of the principles for which he had toiled.*

Let us now return to the minutes of the Governors. M. Lacoste's place was immediately filled by the appointment of M. J. A. Deloutte, but that gentleman did not arrive in Halifax until the new year. In addition to his work in teaching Modern Languages, M. Deloutte was to take a class in Latin, should the Board require him to do so—such was a condition of his appointment. Every school boy, not necessarily of the capacity of Lord McCaulay's, knows that 1843 was the year of the disruption in the Church of Scotland. Prof. McIntosh, seeing a chance it might be for a good living in one of the many vacancies, applied for and obtained a three month's leave of absence from his professional duties. While he was gone, Mr. Thos. McCulloch, son of the late President, was chosen to take charge of the classes. That task he performed most efficiently. A resolution testifying to Mr. McIntosh's good work in the College and his readiness to undertake extra labor when required, was passed and transmitted to the Rev. gentleman—a resolution which the Governors subsequently would have been glad to retract. Mr. McIntosh was instructed to look out in Scotland a man qualified and willing to accept the office of President, and report the result of such enquiries to the Board. And thus, without a Principal, with one professor appointed, but not entered upon his duties, with another across the Atlantic, but a substitute doing his work, the year 1843 closed over Dalhousie. A disastrous year for that institution it had been!

CHAPTER XI.

Fears 1844-'45-'46-'47-'48—Minutes of Governors—New Act.

The first meeting of the Governors in 1844 was held on February 12th, but there was nothing of importance done. A little more than a month later, the Governors met again to consider Prof. McIntosh's application for an extension of his leave of absence—an application which they promptly refused.

* For materials for above account we are chiefly indebted to Robertson's *History of Secession Missions to Nova Scotia*, Gregg's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, Patterson's *History of the County of Pictou*, also sketch by same author in *Bibliotheca Canadensis*, and information derived orally from him.

Then came the *denouements*. It will not be forgotten that Prof. McIntosh, while still in connexion with the College, had purchased some apparatus for which the Board had paid him, but, we will suppose in his hurry of leaving, he had forgotten to remit the money to the person from whom he had bought, a Mr. Wrightman of Boston. More than that, though the Governors had continued Mr. McIntosh's salary to him during the three months he had been absent, they had also to pay for the services of his substitute. At the same time that these transactions were revealed, Mr. McIntosh's resignation came, and, we need not add, was accepted. Mr. Thos. McCulloch was employed, and instructed to carry on the classes he had been teaching as the ex-Professor's substitute until the end of the term, when his engagement was to terminate. Another meeting was held in 1844 which does not call for a reference, so we can retrace our steps a little to see what action in regard to the Colleges the Legislature had taken.

Those who look for something decisive as the outcome of no-sectarian college resolution that had been carried by a majority of seven in 1843 are doomed to disappointment. During the session of 1844 thirty-seven petitions were presented praying for a continuance of the grants to sectarian colleges, and twenty-eight against. The grants passed in 1842 would not terminate until 1845, and the discussion was postponed until then; but in order to give the members the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the state of the Colleges, the House, on motion of G. R. Young, resolved to request the Lieut.-Governor to obtain from the proper officers during recess, returns from the Colleges and Academies, showing the amount of fixed funds, the number of students, the course of study, the cost of boarding, and the value of the apparatus. In answer to this resolution, the Governors of Dalhousie sent a statement compiled in January, 1845. This is not by any means so interesting a document as we would expect it to be. The fixed and annual funds are spoken of, the yearly expenditure, the salaries of the Professors, and the cost of board and education, are given. Further, an estimate of the value of the property is made, (in which the building is valued at £10,000); from which we learn that there was no library, and only £100 worth of apparatus. The most useful part of the whole return is a tabular statement, as follows, of

CLASSES AND NUMBER OF STUDENTS

Since the constitution of the present Board of Governors :

	Classics.	Logic and Rhetoric.	Moral Phil'ay.	Mathem. Nat. Phil.	Modern Languages.	Total No. of Students.
1843—Winter Term..	3	2	5	11	—	16
1843—Summer " ..	4	4	3	9	—	15
1844—Winter " ..	5	—	—	3	12	18
1844—Summer " ..	1	—	—	2	7	10

Such is all of interest that the report contains.*

Some at least of our readers will remember that in the election of 1843, the one College question was one of the most important issues. The leaders of the liberal party, Messrs. Howe, G. R. Young, Annand, and others, held public meetings in different counties, and laid their policy in this regard fairly and squarely before the electors. The rank and file, however, of

* See Appendix 12, Journals for 1845, for full returns.

that party did not make the one College matter so prominent a plank in their platform; in fact some of them fought shy of it, or repudiated it altogether. The Liberal party was returned to power, but with a decreased majority, though Mr. Howe always maintained with a majority that should have fixed forever the fate of sectarian institutions had they been true to the principles they avowed in '43. We have seen how the House avoided a discussion of the question in 1844, but they could not shirk it in 1845. With the expiration of the grants, and with the returns from the various colleges in their hands, there was no excuse for further postponing the consideration. March saw them ready for the wordy warfare. The battle was opened when the committee of the whole House reported that they had come to four resolutions; by the first of which £250 was granted to the Baptist Educational Society, in other words, to Acadia College; by the second, £250 to St. Mary's; by the third, £250 to Pictou Academy; by the fourth, £150 to Sackville Academy. No mention at all was made of Dalhousie, though the returns show that it was doing a higher class of work than any of her rivals, even if the number of its students was small. These grants, it must be mentioned, were made on a condition easily fulfilled, viz.: that of educating without charge ten youths of poor parentage of whom the Lieut.-Governor should nominate five. Mr. Howe moved in amendment a resolution, of which the preamble was, "Whereas the system pursued for some years past for providing the higher branches of education in sectarian colleges is burthensome to the Treasury," but to no effect. The amendment was voted down, three of those members, who in 1843 had voted for a similar resolution, being found among the majority. The first resolution carried. So did the second, third, and fourth, with varying majorities; but all large enough to show that the feeling was then strong in favor of denominational colleges. The opponents of these were not completely disheartened, even if they were badly beaten. Accordingly, next morning, Mr. Huntingdon, the most earnest consolidationist of them all, moved that the first resolution passed the day before be rescinded. For a while, as the division was being taken, it would seem as if the escapade of 1842 was to be repeated, but it happened otherwise. The motion was defeated, but, nothing daunted, Mr. Huntingdon proceeded to make similar motions regarding the other resolutions. Each met with a like fate to that which had befallen his first venture. Later in the same day the strife was renewed, when the Hon. Sol. General (Mr. Dodd) moved that the House do resolve itself into a committee for the purpose of considering the School Bill. Mr. Huntingdon was to the front again—he was evidently English, and didn't know when he was beaten, or else in his vocabulary he found no such word as fail—with an amendment to the question put in these words,—“It is the opinion of this House that the principle of endowing sectarian colleges is unwise, and ought to be abandoned.” The Hon. Sol. General moved the previous question, and his motion carried. As a second amendment to the original question, Mr. Doyle moved “that in the present state of the Province, and the inadequacy of the public funds for the support of Common School Education, it is the opinion of this House that the principle of endowing sectarian colleges is improvident and unwise, and ought to be abandoned.” The Sol. General adopted the same tactics as before, and with like success. Mr. Huntingdon, and the men who stood by him, failed, but we think it will be admitted that they stand blameless of a crime

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against higher education in Nova Scotia—so much cannot be said for their opponents—for they

"Who do the best their circumstance allow
Do well, not noble—angels could do no more."

But it may be asked, why detail these steps so minutely—what have they to do with Dalhousie? We answer everything. Dalhousie was the only college that could lay the slightest claim to being non-sectarian; Dalhousie had already received large grants from the Assembly; Dalhousie alone had spacious and enduring buildings; Dalhousie alone had a respectable endowment; Dalhousie alone was centrally situated and could count on a large number of students from its immediate neighbourhood. For these and other reasons, had Mr. Huntingdon and his supporters succeeded, Dalhousie would have been the recipient of the Government grant, and become, what we hope she is destined, even yet to be, *the* Provincial University.

On Tuesday, June 3rd, 1845, the Governors of the College met, when a resolution was adopted that was of great importance. This it was: "Resolved, that in consequence of the discontinuance of the Provincial Grant it is expedient to shut up the College for the present, and not to fill up the vacancies in the Professorships; and that it is advisable to allow the funds of the Institution to accumulate." During his short Professorship, M. Deloutte seems to have won his way to the hearts of the Governors; for we find four resolutions passed of a nature favorable to him. The first was one of regret at parting with him, the second was one of satisfaction with the work he had done, the third gave him a present of that part of the class fees which belonged to the Governors, and the fourth offered him a room in the College without charge for purposes of private teaching.

Thus ingloriously terminated the arrangement of 1838. For over three years the College remained closed. The Governors, it is true, held meetings, though not so frequently as before, but the chief matters for their consideration during that period was the leasing of one room to the Registrar of Deeds, and the clearing out of some parties who had been occupying rooms without payment.

In 1847, the House of Assembly, by resolution, again required the different colleges to furnish returns. Dalhousie in that year, as we know, had neither students nor professors, and the return proper from it is a very uninteresting document. The only point of interest gleaned from it is that the Post Office, Infant School, Mechanics' Institute, and Registrar of Deeds are all domiciled within Dalhousie's walls. But, in addition to this return, the Governors sent copious extracts from their minutes partially covering the years 1845-7*. From these we have derived much of the information given in the preceding pages. About this time the House seemed to have a mania for getting returns. Not satisfied with those supplied them in 1845, nor yet with those of 1847, they asked for others in 1848†. Dalhousie was still in a comatose state, and such a thing, therefore, in so far as she was concerned was absurd. It was without professors or students, and during 1847 the Governors had done nothing but expend well on to £300 in repairing a fence. Even this got them into difficulties. When the return was presented, the House found that the Secretary had been drawing his salary of £35 per annum, though practically doing nothing.

* See Appendix 29, Journals 1847.

† See Appendix 28, Journals 1848.

The item of expenditure upon the fence was also inexplicable, and when further information was sought for, it was learned that the work had been done and money expended by the Secretary and one other Governor, without the consent of the others. A select committee was appointed to enquire into this mal-appropriation of the public funds, for so it was deemed—but they never reported. In the course of the debate, it should be noticed that Hon. Mr. Uniacke gave it as his opinion, that it was time to convert the College buildings into a Court House or Custom House.

During the closing days of the same session, the Assembly tried to infuse life into the College by giving it a new Board of Governors. The Bill, by which this was done, was introduced on the 3rd of April, by the Provincial Secretary, (Mr. Howe) and rushed through its different stages so rapidly that it received the assent of the Lieut.-Governor on the 11th of that month. The old Board was abolished, and in its room and stead the Governor-in-Council was empowered to appoint a new one, consisting of not less than five, nor more than seven members, "which Board shall hold office during pleasure," and to take such other steps for rendering the Institution useful and efficient as to His Excellency may seem meet*.

CHAPTER XII.

"The College High School"—Action of the Legislature.

By the terms of the Act of 1848, not less than five, nor more than seven, were to be appointed by the Governor-in-Council to constitute the Governing Board of Dalhousie College. Under this statute, on the 1st of September, in that year, the Hons. Wm. Young, Joseph Howe, Hugh Bell, and Messrs. James F. Avery, William Grigor, Andrew McKinlay, and John Naylor were commissioned. These gentlemen held their first meeting on the 2nd November, 1848, and organized themselves by appointing as Chairman, Hon. Wm. Young; Secretary, Alex. James. The position to which he was then elected, Sir William Young filled for over thirty years, with credit to himself, and benefit to the College. No statement of the affairs of the College having been received from the former Secretary, the Governors were not in a position to perform any business, and adjourned to meet less than a week later. Then the new board, finding that their predecessors had left a balance of nearly £200 to commence operations with, went right to work. The chairman read the draft of a report prepared by him upon the constitution and present state of the Institution, containing a general outline of the system proposed to be pursued. This was adopted unanimously, and 250 copies of it ordered to be printed for circulation. A long conversation followed respecting the expediency and propriety of opening the classes with prayer or reading of the scriptures, and the Board, without a dissenting voice, decided that such a practice would lead to serious objections, and tend to exclude some portions of the public, and therefore that such services should be dispensed with.

Some sections of the above report must be quoted. Our readers are probably aware that under this Board the College was turned into a High School, contrary to the charter, we are bound to say. Their course may

* Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1848, p. 135.

perhaps be justified by educational or financial, if not by the more familiar "political exigencies." The reason they had for so materially altering the plan of the noble founder is given in the annexed quotation:—"It is enough that from causes which we need not enquire into, except as beacons to warn us in future, all such attempts (to put the college into operation) have hitherto proved abortive, and that unless there be a thorough change in the principle and mode of management, the Institution is likely to remain a melancholy memorial of well intended and patriotic efforts defeated, and large funds unproductive and neglected.

"The Governors feel, that with the growing anxiety for a sound, practical education of the youth of this country, adapted to our local circumstances and pursuits, so cheap as to be accessible to large numbers whom the present rates of tuition exclude or deter, and free from all suspicion of sectarian influences, the resources of this institution are such as to offer the fairest prospect of founding a seminary to which all denominations may with equal confidence repair, and to which parents may look for the supply of a want so justly complained of, and so deeply felt in this community. * * *

"The Board, having instituted enquiries also into the actual state of education in Halifax and the cost it now entails, were convinced that there was ample room, without any undue interference with the colleges or schools already existing, for another seminary aiming at a cheap rate, not to exceed four pounds a year for each pupil, to give such an education as is furnished by the academies in Scotland, and high schools in the United States."

To this quotation we will return farther on. Meanwhile we glean what information we can from the remainder of the report. To accomplish the end outlined in the above paragraph, the Governors think that four teachers, among whom the work would be divided in the manner we shall soon see, would be necessary. The idea of having a college was not absolutely abandoned. The Governors state that they hope soon to employ a fifth teacher, and to remunerate three competent lecturers on some of the higher branches of literature and science. The yearly income and the amount of endowments is stated thus: "The capital itself consists of £9342 11s. 1d. sterling in the three per cent. consols, equal at their present value to £10,048 6s. 10d. currency, and yielding a dividend of £385 6s. 10d. currency per annum. If this sum could be transferred to the Provincial funds or otherwise safely invested, it might be made to yield an income of upwards of £500, making, with rental from Post Office, etc., £625 currency." We might just add that this transfer of the endowment was subsequently made with very beneficial results.

The Governors conclude their report with these words: "Should they succeed in their endeavors, and the institution go into successful operation, they hope that Her Majesty will be pleased to appoint His Excellency to the office of visitor; and that the countenance and supervision of the Queen's representative, while reflecting dignity on the officers and teachers of the institution, will be a guarantee to the public for its efficiency and permanence." Dalhousie College had suffered so much in the past by having its governing Board filled with men, chosen simply on account of their position, that one is surprised at this little bit of fawning on the part of the governors. But Sir John Harvey was a man of different stuff from many of his predecessors, and if he did not greatly assist, he certainly did not injure, the College.

Whether the Governors made a mistake or not in their disposition of the funds is a question which we have some hesitancy in discussing. For our

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own part we think they did. That very year, the Presbyterians in their Synod, had passed a series of six resolutions opposing denominational colleges, and expressing their willingness to assist in building up a Provincial University. Had the Governors made overtures to that church, there is no doubt but that it would have done as it did some fifteen years later—unite with them to carry on the college as a college. Farther, with all due deference to the Governors, there was no necessity for another high school. In Halifax, at that time, doing the work of high schools, there were St. Mary's Academy, the Training School, and the Halifax Grammar School, while the Free Church were about erecting their Academy. Nor was the action of the Governors fair. Under the system they proposed, no pupils would come from the country, and the funds of Dalhousie College were never intended to be for the sole benefit and behoof of Halifax scholars. Still no one can dispute the fact that the Governors did what they considered was for the best. It was not as in '38, when the Governors of that date joined hands with a few bigots in trying to bring ruin on the institution. No one can impute dishonorable motives to the men who formed the Governing Board of 1848. If they "had not the faith to read the signs aright," they at least acted to the best of their judgment, and showed by their efforts that they were in earnest. As we read of the work they did on behalf of the Academy they established, we only regret the more that they had not aimed at something higher. Such energy and interest as they manifested, would have carried an undertaking of that nature to a successful issue.

The advertisement the Governors inserted in the papers asking applications for teachers, would, *prima facie*, be supposed to be of no importance. A closer inspection, however, shows that there are some facts in it of interest that are nowhere else to be found. It is stated that the School would be opened early in February, if possible; but for some, to us not apparent, reason, it did not commence work till the 14th of April, 1849. It will be remembered that the Governors had determined to appoint four teachers. According to this advertisement the Head-master must be competent to teach Classics, Rhetoric and Belles Lettres; the second, Mathematics, Surveying, and kindred branches; the third, French, Spanish, and if practicable, Italian; the fourth the ordinary branches of a good English education. The salaries offered would not in our day be considered princely; the teachers were all entitled to receive one half of their own class fees, and in addition £175, £160, £125, £75 respectively. The Governors reserved the privilege of sending five pupils to each class free, "so that children who displayed extraordinary ability in the Common schools may be advanced, and their minds developed and improved." If necessary the Governors, aided by some men of acknowledged ability, were to examine the candidates. None is to be employed who will not be likely to coöperate cheerfully with the Governors and with the other teachers in promoting the usefulness and respectability of the Institution. In return for these gratuitous efforts, the Governors promise to make the comfort of the teachers a leading object.

The fee for each class was fixed at £4, and as the advertisement says, "for this moderate sum the pupils, according to their age and capacity, will be assigned to one, two, or more of the classes, and particular attention will be paid to their obtaining a correct knowledge of their own and of the French tongue."

A very large number of applications were received. Still the choice of the Governors was unanimous. These were the successful candidates :—

Head Master,	Thos. McCulloch.
Second "	Dr. Samuel Brown.
Third "	H. Oldright.
Fourth "	J. K. Rousselle.

The principal had already served the College, and ten years after the position to which he had now been chosen to fill had been given up by reason of ill health, he was again called to a Professor's chair, the others were *novi homines*. At the same meeting at which the appointments were made, an application was received from Dr. A. Gesner, the celebrated geologist and scientist, regarding the appointment of a teacher of Natural and Experimental Philosophy. This, like many other praiseworthy applications, was entertained. Before next meeting the Legislature had discussed the propriety of withdrawing the ancient loan of £5000, and had refused any grant to Dalhousie. Doubts were entertained as to the sufficiency of the funds to carry on the work, and the Governors felt in duty bound to ask the teachers if they were willing, in view of what had taken place, to enter upon their respective offices. These having replied in the affirmative, it was decided to commence operations on the 11th of April. An advertisement to this effect was published in the morning papers. Under auspices fairly favorable—over fifty pupils had promised to attend—the Dalhousie College High School, (we are inclined to regard this title rather as a contradiction of terms, but such was the name generally employed) was opened. The register of the attendance is still extant, peacefully reposing under some inches of dust in the closet of the University Library. We confess to being unable to follow the method used in enrolling the pupils, but if we are right in the conclusion we drew from a close study of the book, there were registered at Dalhousie during the year 1849, 125 pupils*. The ages of these ranged from the infant of 7 to the patriarch of 30, and their attainments were as varied as their years. We find such remarks as these recorded about divers of them in a column set apart for that purpose :—"Parents wish him to get a good general education," "Wants to get a classical education," "Desires to be fitted for engaging in commercial pursuits," "Wants nothing more than a good English education," etc., etc.

Throughout the earlier months of '49 the Governors met frequently, but little that calls for special note was done. They discussed the difficulty connected with the collection of the class fees; refused a petition from the Mechanics' Institute for liberty to build on the Parade; authorized the Principal to obtain a supply of copy books to be disposed of at cost price to the scholars; ordered one hundred satchells of blue moreen for the pupils, and appointed a committee to make enquiries as to employing teachers of the Drill and Manual Exercises and Singing. In October they met to consider a proposal of Mr. J. W., now Sir William Dawson, relative to a series of Geological lectures, 24 in number, to be delivered in the College during the session of the Legislature. Mr. Dawson's proposal was accepted. Forty pounds and the free use of a room were allowed him, besides whatever fees he might obtain. The only return asked was that the teachers and pupils of the school be admitted free.

* See Appendix C, p. 157.

Early in 1850 Mr. James resigned the Secretaryship of the Board and Mr. James Thompson, an alumnus of the college, took his place. In April of the same year, Mr. McCulloch was obliged from the state of his health to retire from the Principalship. The position was at once offered to a Mr. Harris, but declined by him. At this time in Halifax, Mr. Costley, late Deputy Provincial Secretary, was teaching a private school. Having failed in their first attempt to obtain a Head-master, the Governors tried to make arrangements with that gentleman, but could not do so. One of the teachers, Mr. Oldright, was passing his vacation in Boston, and the Board asked him to try to secure a man for the office in that city of baked beans and culture. All these methods proving of no avail, they finally empowered Mr. Howe to write to Mr. Michael McCulloch, another son of the late President, then teaching in Yarmouth, offering him the situation his brother had held. It will not have been forgotten that the Governors had decided that there should be no devotional exercises at the opening of the classes. This decision had brought upon them much reproach. The school had become known far and wide as the "Godless Academy," and the finger of scorn had been pointed at it as in our own day for an alleged similar reason. Thirty-five years ago when this ruinous sectarian feeling was much stronger than it is now, such a cry was very injurious to the Institution. Seeing this, the Governors determined to rescind their former resolution, but not wishing to do so all at once they introduced the thin edge of the wedge, and ordered that the Scriptures be read for an hour once a week, the pupils whose parents objected to their remaining being allowed to withdraw. The new Principal was also requested to draw up a short form of prayer to be used at the opening of the classes, but he was to submit it to the Governors for their approval before beginning its use.

By 1851, the number in attendance having largely diminished, being reduced to 64, the Governors asked the Principal for the reasons of the alarming decrease. In his reply, Mr. McCulloch states that there are external and internal causes for the defection that we need not here enumerate. The Governors seemed hardly satisfied with the explanation, and, moved by the complaints of many parents, they dismissed Messrs. Brown and Oldright from their service on the 30th July. At a meeting in August the personnel of the staff was again changed. Mr. Costley was induced to take a position, not under Mr. McCulloch, but on the same footing with him, equal in salary and dignity. Mr. Rouselle, who seems to have been a worthy man as well as a good teacher, held the third position. Unable to get a satisfactory teacher of the modern languages, the Board was obliged to re-engage Mr. Oldright. Notwithstanding all these changes the school was not gaining the confidence of the public. In fact its popularity was waning. We have said before that in our opinion there was no necessity for the school, and the fact that the attendance had now decreased to such an extent bears us out in our statement. The attendance at first, owing to the glamor that encompasses new undertakings and makes them attractive, was abnormally large, but the school had no constituency. A secondary reason, and one not to be overlooked, operating during the later years, was the fact that there was no chief to control affairs. An old pupil, on whose intelligence we can rely, tells us that to boys of thirteen it was apparent that a principal was wanted. As it was, he says, there was no system about the work or the courses pursued. Matters that effected, it might be the best interests of the institution, that should have been reported to the authorities as part of a principal's duty,

were, because of the want of that official, left unmentioned, and in many cases unremedied. The Governors, though aware of the dissatisfaction expressed, had not got at the root of the matter. They passed unanimously the following resolution, of which they sent a copy to each teacher :—

"The Governors of Dalhousie College regret that the institution does not yet realize the reasonable expectations of the public. They apprehend that there is a want of cordial coöperation among the teachers. They deem it their duty to state frankly, and require from the gentlemen in charge as free an explanation of their views and opinions."

They also directed that a public examination of the pupils should take place on 27th July, 1852, and voted £10 for the purchase of prizes.

From June 30th, 1852, at which date the resolution above was passed, until January of next year, the Governors held no meeting. With the record of what they then did the minutes abruptly close. There was room in the minute-book—it was not over one-eighth full—they must have met occasionally, but what has become of the record they took of their transactions we cannot learn.* For a time we had supposed that the College High School had then ceased to be, but farther enquiry undeceived us on that point. The number in attendance grew small by degrees and beautifully less, until, in 1854, only fourteen new pupils had enrolled themselves. Finally, early in 1855, the Governors stopped all work. They did not abandon their idea of devoting the funds towards maintaining a high school; on the contrary they stuck to it with a tenacity worthy a better cause. For a time we leave them to see what the Legislature have been doing for the colleges and higher education. As might be expected there is nothing particularly edifying about their actions.

On the 20th February, 1849,† another attempt was made to recover from the Governors the old loan of £5,000. The motion was made by Mr. Fulton, member for Cumberland, and the reason given for making the demand was that the depressed state of the Province, owing to the failure of the crops, rendered it necessary to make large appropriations for the road and other services. The connexion between these two ideas is not surprisingly evident. Mr. Huntingdon at once moved the amendment which we quote in full :—*"Whereas certain funds were secured in Great Britain by the Governors of Dalhousie College for the maintenance of that College, for which they only receive three per cent :—"* *Resolved*, that it would be for the interest of the public if those funds were removed to this Province, and paid in exchange for a like amount of our Funded Debt, and kept as a fund for education generally." This was a dangerous amendment, but the friends of Dalhousie were sufficiently numerous to defeat it. After another amendment had been offered and defeated, a vote on the main motion was avoided by the strategy of the Provincial Secretary, who moved that the House resolve itself into a committee of the whole on the subject of collegiate education.

In 1850 the question of grants to Colleges was again discussed. The ball was opened by the Committee of Supply reporting that they had come to the following resolution :—*Resolved* that the allowances now made to the Colleges and Academics. Institutions be continued under the existing conditions for the period of the School Act." A number of widely differing

* See Minute Book of Governors Dalhousie College in Legislative Library.

† See Journals 1849, p. 288.

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amendments were moved, one of which carried, limiting the grants to one year. Each year, from 1851 to 1862 inclusive, these grants were voted. In 1853, the Free Church Academy was ready to commence its work, and it applied for a share of public money, and so committed to the absurd principle of denominational educational institutions was the Parliament, that its claim could not be refused. Henceforward it received its annual grant. The year 1856 saw St. Francis Xavier's College seeking to dip its hands into the Provincial Treasury, and of course its right to do so could not be denied. In this year, Mr. Chambers moved a resolution to the effect that at its next session the House should withdraw all grants to denominational institutions, but when 1847 came the matter was not mentioned. During all these years Dalhousie College got no money from the public funds. This is unfortunate in many respects. In consequence it was not obliged to send any returns. The other Colleges and Academies were, and to write their history and show their progress or the reverse during this period would be a comparatively easy task. The returns would supply much of the necessary information.

CHAPTER XIII.

Another Attempt—Hugo Reid—Gorham College—Union.

Their first attempt to establish a successful school having thus failed, the Governors seem to have suddenly realized the truth that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country," and therefore concluded that the failure was due to the Bluenose teachers whom they had chosen. Accordingly they determined to import the teachers required from England. Three, they thought, would be "for the time being, sufficient to supply a complete course of education according to the more intellectual and invigorating methods now coming into use, embracing all the subjects which the extension of scientific knowledge and progress of improvement has brought into modern education." From the leading editorial in the *Morning Chronicle*, for December 18th, 1855, we learn that these gentlemen who were to do all this work had come per Cunard steamer from England about four weeks before. The chief was Mr. Hugo Reid, formerly of High School, Liverpool, and Principal of People's College, Nottingham, a gentleman of more than ordinary abilities, who had won some celebrity on the other side of the Atlantic by the publication of a number of works on scientific subjects. There are in the University Library at the present time two of his books on Arithmetic, and a Treatise on the Steam Engine. Besides these, he claimed the paternity of "A Manual of Astronomy," "Elements of Physical Geography," "First Book of Geography," "Tablet of the Solar System," and "Principles of Education," most of which had seen two editions, and some three. Mr. Reid was to be assisted in the department of Modern Languages by Mr. F. George D'Massy, "lately of Vienna and Paris, and of the University of Turin," and by Mr. James Wood, "lately of London" as "General Assistant." "We trust," sayst he editor of the *Chronicle*, in concluding his article, "that the new occupants of Dalhousie College may succeed, and that the community will largely benefit by their exertions. The field of labor is ample, the time for commencing the work is auspicious. The sectarian prejudices which were formerly arrayed against this Institution have ceased

to exist, and there is no good reason why all classes and creeds should not unite in making Dalhousie a credit to the city and the Province." The sectarian prejudices had ceased to exist—had they? Those whose memory can go back to '63 will doubt it.

In the same paper appears the official notice of the re-opening of the College on January 15th, 1856. A high school and a junior school were to be opened, though what was the system of management, or what the line of demarcation between the two, we cannot discover. The advertisement goes on to state, that in addition to the ordinary branches of education which are specified, French, Drawing, and Physical Science would be taught, and the pupils in the highest grade were to receive instruction in German. All this was done for the small fee of £5 per annum in the junior, and £7 in the high school.

It is evident from the salaries paid that the Governors depended chiefly upon the principal to build up their school. Mr. Reid was paid £300; Mr. D'Massy £120, and Mr. Woods £150. We might here mention that the finances of the college were in a much healthier state than ever before. When the Province was borrowing money in order to build railways, the Governors took advantage of the opportunity, sold out the endowment fund that was invested in the three per cents, and invested it in the Provincial funds at six per cent. The annual dividend they received was thus increased from £350 to £600. Further, by putting the building in better repair, and by making some much needed improvements in it, their rental rose from £125 to £200.

The school then was opened on January 15th, and a week later the editorial writer of the *Chronicle* paid the establishment a visit, induced to do so "by the number of citizens going and coming from the building each day." The experiences received, and the opinions formed during the visit are detailed in the *Chronicle* for January 24th. Everything the writer saw was tinted *couleur de rose*. Mr. Reid, the *beau ideal* of an intellectual man, has supplied himself with all the latest apparatus and material for teaching the subjects he professes. So taken was the editor—for such we suppose the visitor was—with Mr. Reid, that he tells us he longed for boyhood again. Mr. Woods was in his line not a whit inferior to his principal. Of Mr. D'Massy nothing too good could be said. Nearly one-half of the editorial (which fills a column and a half,) is devoted to praising that gentleman and his methods of teaching. "No longer will the officers of French ships, when they make their appearance at a grand ball among the well educated young ladies and gentlemen of Halifax, find themselves in a company formed of the recipients of verbs and rules, all unfortunately left at home in their closets, without a practical syllable of them on their lips to return the slightest compliment to the well-informed gentleman who addresses them." When the tawdry and tinsel of this article are torn off, we have written proof of what we had orally learned long before, that the new school and its teachers were exceedingly popular, and the hope, not unnaturally, arose in the breasts of its friends that it was destined to meet with increasing success. But this was not to be. Such a school in Nova Scotia was the fifth wheel in a coach. Hugo Reid and his associates were excellent teachers, and, from all we can gather, enthusiastic in their work; but they could not draw, under the system adopted, any country boys to their school, and there were not in Halifax sufficient pupils to make it a necessity. This we can see from a glance at the record of attendance. At the end of 1856, there were in attendance in

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both departments, 50 scholars—the grading examination seems to have taken place at the midsummer holidays, and it is more than a little difficult to estimate the numbers accurately. During 1857, 68 had attended; during 1858, 65; during 1859, 51. The amounts received in fees are in proportion. The amount so received in 1856, including arrears, was £238; in 1857, £295; in 1858, £297; in 1859, £288.

In order to provide the pupils with space for exercise, the Governors, in the spring of 1856, proposed to fence off a part of the Parade, and did so. Their action called down upon them the wrath of a large body of the citizens. One of the most frequent causes of complaint under the former regime owed its origin to the bitter wars ceaselessly waged between the boys of the college and of the streets—between gown and town. By enclosing a part specially for the use of the pupils, this source of trouble, more serious than we can readily believe, would be removed. A great hue and cry was raised against them through the press, and in other ways, but the fence was built. The matter in dispute was made the subject of a dialogue begun in the *Morning Chronicle* for July 3rd, 1856, and concluded in the next issue. The characters are Biblion, representing the Governors, and Civis, a citizen. After much of truth has been plainly spoken about the advocates of sectarian institutions, on whose shoulders the responsibility for the trouble about the fence was laid, and about the efforts of the Governors to build up an institution that would give the people a cheap and liberal education, Civis becomes convinced of the justice of their act, throws up his cap, and gives three cheers for them and the College. (For the reverse of the shield our readers might consult the *Colonist* for October 9th, 14th, and 16th, 1856.) We mention these circumstances, not so much because they are of historical importance, but because they are premonitions of the struggle that was to ensue between the City of Halifax and the Governors of Dalhousie for the ownership of the Parade.

For four and a half years the school continued under the charge of these gentlemen. Their work was satisfactorily done, there were no complaints as to their efficiency or diligence, each examination showed that their scholars were making good progress,* but the school was not prospering, nor the number of its pupils increasing. The Governors, reluctantly, we may be sure, were in June, 1860, compelled to close it, we might add forever. During their sojourn in Halifax, Messrs. Reid, D'Massy, and Woods were not, apart from their school work, idle. The Principal, less than twelve months after his arrival in this country, produced a book, "The Elements of Geography adapted for use in British America"—a book which the *Morning Chronicle* says:—"An attentive perusal of this little work assures us that it cannot fail to recommend itself to the notice and adoption of the school instructors of British North America."† A second edition of it was called for two years later. In 1857, he made a map of the Province, and on the recommendation of the Superintendent of Education, was granted by the Assembly such sum as would enable him to prepare 6500 copies, and the next session 200 copies were bought by the Legislature and placed at the disposal of the Superintendent. During the winter of 1858 he delivered a course of seven lectures before the Mechanics' Institute, five of them of a scientific, two of a literary, nature. In 1859 he published a "Mental

* See *Morning Chronicle* for July 10th, 1858.

† *Morning Chronicle*, Sept. 25th, 1856.

Arithmetic" of which we have seen several very favorable reviews in the papers of the period. All these labors abundant must have given the school, of which he was Principal, a name and a fame that if it had any constituency—if it had been established to meet a felt want—would have brought students in crowds to its halls. The fact that its attendance was not permanently increased is the best proof that the Dalhousie High School was not a necessity. When Mr. Reid's work in Halifax was done, he retired from active work and returned to England, where some five years later he died.

Mr. D'Massy succeeded in teaching French so well that in 1858 the pupils in the senior class were obliged to speak that language in all the departments.* He, too, tried his hand at book-making by publishing a series of "Biographical Sketches of the leading characters of Piedmont." When his occupation in Halifax was gone, he went to the United States, and enlisted in the army. During the course of the rebellion he rose to be Colonel, and became the darling of the regiment. Subsequently he was suspected of embezzling some public funds, tried, found guilty, and committed to Sing Sing.†

The "general assistant," Mr. Woods, remained in Halifax for some years after 1860. Like Dr. Johnson, "he taught a school and called it an Academy." Eventually he gave up teaching for preaching, and entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church.

In the hope of preventing confusion and making our "round unvarnished tale" more clear, we have omitted mention of Dalhousie and Gorham Colleges in 1856. We shall now retrace our steps a little.

In 1783, when the Loyalists were driven from their old homes, and forced to move their *lares et penates* to lands over which the British flag still floated, there came with those of them who settled, not where mild Altama murmurs to their woe, but where the Liverpool enters the Atlantic, a young man named James Gorham. He had been born and bred in New England. He began business in Liverpool, N. S., and to a young lady of that town, a Miss Lucy, he was soon afterwards married. Before the war of 1812-14, he had become largely interested in trade, and during that war he made much money out of his interest in a number of privateers which were fitted out at Liverpool. After his death, his widow provided the means for the building and endowment of a College to be called after him, Gorham College. He, while living, had shown his desire to promote education by building and endowing a public school which he presented to the town. In 1848 the work of erection commenced, and in that year Mrs. Gorham laid the corner stone. The site chosen was a most beautiful one—a hill behind the town, commanding a view of the harbour and the surrounding country. The College was supported by Mrs. Gorham's gift of \$12,000 voluntary subscriptions, and an annual grant from Colonial Society of London of £250. Its direct object was the education of young men for the ministry in connexion with the Congregationalist Churches of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It was ready for occupation in 1850, but was not opened till the 27th of August, 1851. The President was the Rev. Fredrick Tomkins, M. A., of University of London.‡ The faculty consisted of the President, who taught Greek, Latin, and Mathematics, and the Rev. J. C. Geikie, of the Academical Institute, Toronto, who took charge of the classes in Mental and Moral Science, Logic and Political

* See *Morning Chronicle* July—, 1858.

† See Appendix D, p. 158.

‡ *Mare's History of County of Queens*, p. 197, etc. His account is not in all points correct.

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Economy. A long advertisement of the opening of the College appeared in the papers immediately before the event took place. From it we learn that the Institution was modelled after the University of London; that the session was to consist of two terms, the one extending from August 27th to December 15th, 1851; the other, from January 14th to June 16th, 1852. During the year 1852, Prof. Geikie removed to Ontario, and for a time the President did the work alone; but before the session of 1853-4 began, a second Professor, the Rev. Alexander Sims, M. A., of Marischal College, Aberdeen, had been secured for the chairs of Classics and Belles Lettres. Under these gentlemen the curriculum included the Latin, Greek, French and German Languages; English Language and Literature; Moral and Mental Philosophy; Logic and Rhetoric; and composition in Greek, Latin, and English. Prof. Sims soon gave way to Rev. George Comish, B.A., a distinguished scholar, now filling the chair of Classics in McGill University. The good work these men were doing had scarcely commenced when the building was destroyed by fire. The College had not met with such conspicuous success as would warrant the Congregationalists in rebuilding it—though we read that at the time of its destruction there were in attendance students from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Maine, and Massachusetts—and consequently the balance of the endowment was transferred to the mission funds of that church. The exact date of this disaster that put an end to Gorham College we cannot positively learn, and parties from whom we expected the information were unable to give it; but that the College ceased to be in 1855 there can be little doubt.

By the beginning of 1856, the Governors of Dalhousie were commencing to see what many men without half their ability had seen long before—what the best educated men and broadest minds of all denominations had keenly felt for some time; what the Superintendent of Education had been endeavoring to impress on the Government in report after report—that a proper higher educational institution was the crying want of the Province. As a result they sought to effect a combination of those religious bodies which had no Colleges of their own for the support of Dalhousie. In March of that year, they accordingly wrote to the three branches of the Presbyterian family and the Congregationalists, offering to unite the funds of Dalhousie with those of these bodies. The year before, the Presbyterians, through their joint committee, had conferred with the Governors in regard to some such union, but had been offered terms that no denomination could accept. The scheme now proposed was more satisfactory; the Congregationalists accepted it, the Presbyterians did not; but their chief reason in declining was their dissatisfaction with the financial arrangements. A main element in the plan was that no restrictions were to be placed upon students or professors; except in case of the latter, that the gentlemen then employed should be first appointed.

The *Morning Chronicle* for July 26th, 1856, contains the minutes of that important meeting of the Governors, held five days before, when the union, such as it was, between Dalhousie and Gorham Colleges, was consummated. From these something of interest may be gathered. After reciting the substance of the different acts that had been passed in reference to the college, and the steps the Governors had taken to carry out their trust in repairing the buildings and employing teachers, they go on to relate the attempts made to secure the coöperation of the religious bodies already mentioned. The result of these attempts has been forecast. The Committee of

Governors who had met with the Committee of the Congregationalists, reported, and their report was adopted, that they had agreed to receive the Professors Tomkins and Comish, of Gorham College, as professors of mathematics and classics, respectively, in the united institution. The school was not to be abandoned—far from it—but the teachers were to conduct classes in the college in addition to their regular work. No president was to be appointed, but Mr. Reid was, for the first year, at least, to be dean. In the same issue of the *Chronicle* the advertisement of the opening on the new basis appears. It is announced that the session to begin on October the 15th, with an inaugural address from the dean, and is to extend to the middle of June. As given in the advertisement, the curriculum and staff seem to be more extensive than those of most provincial colleges at the time; but they were not really so. The course was as follows:—

- 1st—Mathematics, Prof. Tomkins, M. A.
- 2nd—Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, Prof. Tomkins.
- 3rd—The Roman Language and History, Prof. Comish, B. A.
- 4th—The Greek " " " " "
- 5th—Language and Logic, including Rhetoric, Prof. Reid.
- 6th—French, German, and Italian, Prof. D'Massy.
- 7th—Descriptive Geometry and Art, Prof. Woods.

Had all these five been doing no other work—had they confined their attention solely to their duties as professors—we believe there would have been sufficient material in the faculty to build up a university which would in time attract many students. But Messrs. Reid, D'Massy, and Woods had their hands full in the school, and could give but little time to their professional labors. There was another element, too, that prevented the union from being permanent and productive of the beneficial results that were expected. This was the financial basis on which the union had been formed. It will be remembered that the endowment of Gorham College had been transferred to the mission fund of the Congregationalists. That body, when their professors were transferred to Dalhousie, had agreed to contribute £100 annually towards their support; and the stability of the united college depended, therefore, upon the subscriptions of the smallest religious body in the Province. The income of Dalhousie, apart from this grant, was almost completely eaten up by the salaries of the teachers, and this was the chief reason why the Presbyterians had declined to be a party to the union. And considering this drawback, along with the other just mentioned, we will not be surprised to find, that the scheme of the Governors for giving their institution, as they themselves express it, "a more extended usefulness and higher standing," was a failure.

The advertisement for opening stated that the college would commence its operations on the 14th of October, 1856. The Convocation was held in the hall of the Mechanics' Institute, the Hon. Wm. Young (the Attorney-General) presiding. The Dean, Mr. Hugo Reid, delivered an inaugural address on "University Education, its nature, object, and uses." The address is published in the *Morning Chronicle*, that faithful friend of the Governors and Faculty, and occupies nearly six columns in that journal. Did Mr. Reid's fame depend upon it alone, we are not confident that he would be considered either a very clever, or learned man. The latter part of it is devoted, we might say, to a description of the course of instruction in

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Dalhousie College, which embraces, according to the author, "the leading and most essential branches of a thorough general education."

This arrangement with the Congregationalists met with so much opposition in the press, that the Governors must have soon realized that it was not destined to succeed. The *Recorder* opened the strife, complaining that the Governors had handed over a college intended to be used by every sect and creed to the least numerous of all the denominations. The *Sun* pursued the same course. The *Witness* and *Instructor*, representing the Presbyterians, joined in. Their chief objection we have already given. The *Morning Chronicle* took up the cudgels for the Governors, and defended their action as effectually as it could be defended in the two leading editorial articles of its issues of the 14th and 16th August, 1856. From his standpoint as solicitor, if we may so speak for the Governors, the editor writes strongly, but not too severely. The arguments against the union are taken up and answered in so far as it was possible to do so, and no blame can be attached to him if the Governors did not escape without a stain on their escutcheon.

Despite the opposition, which continued for a longer time than it is necessary for us to follow it, the college, as we have seen, began work. In all the papers of the period we can discover no record of the number of students in attendance, or any such details as in our day it would not be difficult to find. The *Chronicle* gives an account of an examination of the school that took place in July, 1857, but says nothing about the college. We have, through a casual reference in the columns of that journal, gathered, that the session did not last as long as was contemplated (till June), and we infer that the early closing was due to the scarcity of students. Through the same medium, too, we learn that at a meeting of the Governors, Mr. Reid expressed for himself and the other Professors a very high opinion of the talents, diligence, and good conduct of the students, and of the progress they had made. But these are all the facts we can obtain—"only these and nothing more."

During the summer of 1857, Prof. Tomkins was obliged, on account of ill health, to return to England. There he turned his attention to law, and now holds a respectable position at the London bar. His colleague, Prof. Comish, accepted an appointment in McGill University. Their places, the Governors never attempted to fill, and though the school dragged out an existence for three years more, the college, on the footing proposed in 1856, was never re-opened.

We have not dwelt at as great length on the years 1848-60 as we might have done, for more than one reason. During that time the funds of the College were used in support of a school, and we conceived that there was not the same necessity for a full treatment, in fact, that such would be slightly foreign to the purpose. In establishing that school we believe the Governors committed a huge mistake, but in what we have written of them we have "set down naught in malice." We imagine that this section of Dalhousie's history will always be viewed in much the same light as the student of Constitutional history regards the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns—as forming a period in which there is nothing to boast of, much to be apologized for.

CHAPTER XIV.

Preliminary Steps—Final Union with Presbyterians—Act of 1863.

Before 1845, the Baptists, Methodists, and Roman Catholics had entered upon the work of building up denominational colleges, although many of the most intelligent members of all these bodies were in favor of a Provincial Institution. The only influential denomination not committed to this policy was the Presbyterians. Many of them were in favor of establishing a college of their own, and going in for a share of public money; but the majority stedfastly resisted the proposal, still hoping that the Government might be induced to start a university on a liberal basis, for which they had the nucleus in the building and funds of Dalhousie.

They could not, however, continue to wait. They were in urgent need of ministers, and more than most bodies, they insisted on the importance of a liberal education in those called to that office. As the Legislature continued to dally with the question, and even by their action or inaction seemed to be rendering denominational colleges more and more the settled policy of the country, they were compelled reluctantly to engage in the work of providing a higher education especially for young men preparing for the ministry. At a meeting of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, held in July, 1848, it was resolved to commence an institution for this purpose. In adopting this measure the Synod at the same time passed a series of resolutions strongly in favor of an unsectarian provincial institution. These, they concluded by saying, that "in finding themselves compelled to adopt the overture in consequence of present pressing exigencies, they still leave themselves at perfect liberty to avail themselves of all the advantages obtained from a seminary endowed by the state, to the full extent which circumstances may warrant."

At their next meeting, in 1849, an overture was received from the session of Poplar Grove Church, setting forth the injustice and hardship to which the members of the denomination were exposed in being obliged to support their own educational institutions, and at the same time pay their proportionate share of the grants to the colleges of the other denominations. A committee was appointed to prepare a memorial stating this grievance to be laid before the Legislature. We cannot say exactly how far this committee carried out their appointment, but they did act, and at the next meeting Synod they reported their proceedings, and their diligence was commended.

The same year in which the first of these steps had been taken (1848), the Synod of the Free Church had started a Theological Hall and an Academy specially designed to prepare young men to enter the Hall. But they never felt themselves in a position to give a thorough collegiate education, and indeed, regarded the latter institution as a sort of makeshift, the best they could do under the circumstances. Both bodies, while thus carrying on the work of education, were still anxiously looking forward to having a Provincial University, and were ready to give it their undivided support should such an institution be established. Nothing farther was done toward accomplishing this object until 1855, when the Synod of the three branches of the Presbyterian family appointed committees to confer on practical matters in which

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the three bodies had a common interest, it being understood that among the foremost subject of this kind to which their attention would be directed, was that of collegiate education, and particularly the state of Dalhousie College. The three committees met in Halifax, on the 6th February following, and their first act was to consider the condition of collegiate education in the Province, when the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

“First, that a deeply felt want exists in the Province of the means of education in science and literature.

“Secondly, that as the original constitution of Dalhousie College, if carried out, seems fitted to supply this want, this committee wait on the Governors respectfully to enquire, whether it be in their power to make such arrangements as will meet the deficiency.”

Accordingly an interview took place with the Governors of Dalhousie College two days later, when the latter informed them of their determination to continue the Institution as a High School, and that the salaries of the teachers appointed would absorb most of their income; that this would prevent the teaching of the higher branches, “unless, indeed, the Presbyterians would themselves endow the necessary chairs, in which case the Governors would be *happy to give them apartments.*” Even this amazing concession was not made, except on the conditions “First, that no clergyman should be appointed as professor, (the Governors being unanimously of opinion that such was the state of feeling in this Province that a minister of any denomination would be regarded by all other denominations with jealousy), and secondly, that all such professors should be subordinate to Mr. Reid, who was now the Principal.”

Further discussion took place, but without moving the Governors. The terms offered by them were regarded by the committees as simply insulting, and they resolved as follows:—“The united committee, finding as the result of their interview with the Governors of Dalhousie College, that there was little prospect of even an effort being made at present to render that institution what it was designed to be, and what the country requires, and that the offer made by the Governors was such as the committee could not recommend to their respective Synods, resolved unanimously to recommend to the Presbyterian bodies to unite in forming a college for themselves, which would furnish the required course of collegiate education, the maturing of the plans to be referred to the Synods at their next meeting.”

Thus we see how near the ridiculous offer of the Governors came to forever putting an end to Dalhousie College. The most casual observer must perceive, that had the foregoing resolution been adopted and carried out, and the Presbyterians embarked on the proposed undertaking, the history of Dalhousie College would here have closed. The building would have remained for years a monument of a noble Scotchman's prudence and a querulous people's folly. But

“When fortune means to men most good
She looks upon them with a threatening eye.”

The proceedings were published, and the action of the Governors was made the subject of violent animadversion in the periodicals connected with the Presbyterian bodies. The Governors were open to conviction, and soon saw their mistake, and when the Synods met and their Committee reported

* For full report, see *Christian Instructor*, vol. i., p. 133.

their want of success in "an application to the Governors of Dalhousie College to carry out the course of education contemplated by their charter," there was also laid before them "*some propositions which had just been received*, offering terms upon which different religious bodies might unite in raising Dalhousie College to the status of a Provincial University."* The sum and substance of these proposals was, that these bodies should place their funds at the disposal of the Governors, that the latter should receive their professors, and fill up all vacancies. As we have already noticed the Congregationalists agreed to unite on the terms proposed. How marked a conversion the Governors had undergone in one short month is very evident. They accepted clergymen as Professors, and did *not* make them subordinate to Mr. Reid.

For various reasons neither of the Synods considered these proposals satisfactory, but they were sufficiently encouraging to induce them to delay the project of forming a united Presbyterian College. The Free Synod, and that in connexion with the Church of Scotland, agreed to petition the Legislature to establish Dalhousie as a Provincial University, while that of Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia contented itself with re-appointing its committee on coöperation, with instructions to confer with the Governors of Dalhousie and the other committees on the subject.

Nothing further was done for some years. In the summer of 1860, a proposal was made, originating, we believe, with the Commissioners of the International Exhibition, to convert the college into a museum, (this idea was viewed with favor by the Governors), and apply its funds to the establishment of lectureships on various branches of Natural Science; and in the following winter a discussion took place in the House of Assembly regarding the advisability of appropriating its funds to the maintenance of the Normal School. It was while matters were in this condition, and there was every probability that if the Institution remained dormant much longer, its revenues would be confiscated and applied to purposes foreign to its original object, and the intention of its illustrious founder; and that thus the establishment of a Provincial University on a broad and liberal basis would be postponed indefinitely, a number of persons in various quarters, interested in the higher education, resolved on an effort to have the Institution resuscitated according to its charter, and on such a footing as would render it a credit to their common country. The Presbyterian Church had so long worked for the accomplishment of that end, and was so ready to assist in bringing it about, that when a general desire to revive Dalhousie was expressed, that desire soon issued in reality. As a writer in the *Dalhousie Gazette* says, when treating of the same subject:—"Stick after stick had been added to a long-accumulating pile, the fire was mingled with the twigs—all that was lacking was a breeze to fan it to a conflagration, and that breeze came."

A bit of secret history might be here related as throwing light upon the result. When the proposal was made to convert the College into an "old curiosity shop," as the opponents of the scheme were accustomed to speak of the Museum, the Rev. George M. Grant, now Principal of Queen's University, Kingston, one of the leading members of the Synod of the Church of Scotland, wrote to Sir Charles, then Dr., Tupper, strongly protesting against such a subversion of the original charter, and assuring him of the support of his denomination in any effort that might be made to

* These are the same propositions referred to at page 59.

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carry out the intentions of Lord Dalhousie. Almost simultaneously, but without knowing what Mr. Grant had done, the Rev. Dr. Patterson, who had been for years a member of the Committee on Education of the other branch of the Presbyterians (for the Free Church and Presbyterian Church were now united,) wrote to Mr. E. M. McDonald, (afterwards member of the Legislature and editor of the *Citizen*), one of Mr. Howe's ablest lieutenants, asking him to use his influence with Mr. Howe in preventing any change like that proposed, and expressing his firm conviction that the body to which he belonged would coöperate in establishing Dalhousie as a Provincial University. Mr. Howe and Dr. Tupper, it is said, held a consultation and agreed upon a plan, which Dr. Tupper submitted to his leader, Hon. Mr. Johnston, and obtained his consent. The *Colonist*, the organ of the opposition, came out on August 19th, 1862, with a leading article that was evidently inspired (Dr. Tupper was frequently accused of being the real editor of this journal), describing the scheme proposed with a fulness and accuracy that left but little doubt that even then all things were arranged.

Let us understand how this could be. The Synod of the Presbyterian Church at its meeting in June had adopted a series of resolutions, of which we quote the first, second, and fourth—there were six in all—as most necessary to our purpose:—

1. That the Synod are of opinion that if Dalhousie College was established on such a footing as to afford the usual branches of a collegiate education in a satisfactory manner, it would be an immense boon to the Province, and the Synod would encourage their students to avail themselves of the advantages which it would afford.

2. That a committee be appointed to confer with the Governors of that institution as soon after the rising of Synod as practicable, and in concert with any similar committee that may be appointed by the other Presbyterian Synod, to ascertain whether an arrangement could be effected by which the branches now taught in the Synod's institution at Truro, might be obtained, either in whole or in part, from the former institution."

4. That the Committee be authorized, if they can obtain satisfactory terms from the Governors of Dalhousie College, to conclude an arrangement.

The Synod of the Church of Scotland also appointed a committee to coöperate with the other committee and confer with the Governors. The result of repeated conferences between these two committees and the four surviving members of the Governing Board was an arrangement by which the Governors agreed to pay out of their own funds, three professors; the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces, two; and the Church of Scotland, one. Some time after the Board resolved that the salary of each professor should be £300 per annum, besides fees. According to this agreement, then, the two Presbyterian bodies were to supply £900 a year to the institution. But this was not all. Before the institution commenced, the Government had resolved to erect a new building for the Post Office and other public offices, by which the Governors of Dalhousie would be deprived of the rent that they had derived from that department, amounting to £200; and on examining the state of their funds, they found themselves unable to pay three professors, besides an allowance to the teacher of Modern Languages, and an extra sum to the Principal. And to fulfil their part of the bargain, they required to take the £250 which had hitherto been granted to the Free Church Academy, and the Presbyterian Church in the Lower Provinces was obliged to relinquish it. The committee of that body were told that if they

refused to have anything to do with Dalhousie College, they were entitled to that sum equally with other denominations, but if they joined in aiding to establish Dalhousie, the Governors wanted that grant to fulfil their engagement. Furthermore, the Church of Scotland resolved to apply to the Legislature for the same sum that the other denominations were receiving. On bringing the matter before the members of the Government, however, they were told that their right to it was undeniable, and that if they maintained a separate institution it could not be withheld from them; but as they were—shall we say—wise enough to give their support to Dalhousie, the Government could not put it in the estimates. This may seem queer reasoning. It is, we presume, politician's logic. Rather than endanger the success of the movement upon which it had entered, the Church of Scotland waived their claim. Thus, besides agreeing to pay £900 themselves, the two Presbyterian bodies gave up £500 more, to which the leading men on all sides of politics acknowledged they were entitled.

Such then was the agreement between the Governors on the one hand, and the various committees on the other, which the *Colonist* had more than fully outlined. All that was wanted was some action of the Legislature. The leader of the Government, Mr. Howe, was one of the Governors; Dr. Tupper, the real, though not nominal, leader of the opposition, had promised his cordial coöperation, and no difficulty was experienced in securing the necessary legislation. The bill was introduced by Mr. Howe on the 10th March, 1863, and was read a second and third time on April 23rd. In the Council it was slightly amended, but the amendments were immaterial, and at once agreed to by the Assembly. The Lieut.-Governor gave his assent on the 29th April, and "The Act for the Regulation and Support of Dalhousie College" became law. From the Journals of the House it would seem as if the bill had passed through all its stages without opposition. That this could be so, we can hardly believe, and no copy of the Debates for '63 is now known to be in existence, or we could write with certainty. There could not have been much opposition offered, or the papers of that date would have had a summary of the discussion. All the antagonism to the measure was displayed after it was passed. Indeed the Act was so framed—section 2, the only possible *causa belli*, was so general and inclusive—that on no reasonable grounds could it be at first opposed. But when only one "body of Christians" was both wise, and at the same time generous, enough to take advantage of its provisions, the conflict began, and was fiercely carried on for many years.

CHAPTER XV.

Action of the Synods—The Professors Chosen—The First Battle.

The chief provisions of the Act which established Dalhousie on its present basis are so well known that it is not necessary here to refer particularly to them. The arrangement with the Presbyterians assured the Governors of the success of their project, but expecting that other religious bodies would do as the Presbyterians had done, it was provided that any such body which should endow a chair should have the privilege of appointing their professor and nominating their Governor. It was confidently anticipated that the

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Congregationalists would do this, and the Governors had not unwarranted beliefs that various other denominations would do the same. To prevent any savour of Presbyterian ascendancy attaching to the Institution, Dr. Tupper, Mr. Shannon, and Mr. Ritchie, the leading public men respectively, of the Baptists, Methodists, and Episcopalians, agreed to take seats on the Governing Board.

Up till this time the actions of the committees and the arrangements they had effected had not received their Synod's sanction. The Kirk Synod were unanimous in approving the measures, and in entering into the arrangements proposed. In the other Synod the matter underwent a long discussion. The Synod had an Institution, which if not all they desired, served their purposes, and had a strong hold upon the affections of both ministers and people. After every argument, pro and con, had been urged by a majority of 41 to 17, the following resolution passed:—"That the Synod approve of the basis of arrangements submitted by committee,—find that the Act passed by the Legislature in the late session for the resuscitation of Dalhousie College has placed that Institution on such a footing, that the Synod in availing itself of the opening now presented will secure advantages for a more extended preparatory education of their own students than at present possessed, and will at the same time aid in the establishment of a Provincial Institution which is much needed, and the attainment of which must be indefinitely postponed if the present opportunity be thrown away."

The next duty was the appointment of Professors. The Governors gave to Prof. Lyall, then the first Metaphysician in British North America, the chair of Metaphysics; to Prof. Lawson of Toronto, that of Chemistry and Natural History; to Prof. Johnson, after Dr. Pryor had declined their offer, that of Classics. The Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces elected those men who had served them so faithfully and well in Truro, Professors Ross and McCulloch, and the Church of Scotland, Prof. McDonald. Thus with a staff of six professors, whose equals were found in few, whose superiors in none of the colleges of Canada, Dalhousie once more went into active operation. Its success in every particular that goes to make a college successful was most marked. The returns for its first year gave 40 students enrolled for a full course and 20 for a partial, more than some of the colleges so liberally scattered through Nova Scotia have in attendance to-day. The first convocation* under the new regime was held on Tuesday, November 10th, in the room in the college building where the orators of the Mechanics' Institute were wont to air their eloquence, and the number of citizens present testified to the interest felt in the new undertaking. The Administrator of the Government, Major General Doyle, presided, and gave a brief but kindly address, which, after he had referred to the previous attempts and failures to carry out the intentions of Lord Dalhousie, he ended by suggesting as the motto of the College "*aucto splendore resurgo*." Sir Wm. Young, Chairman of Governors, followed, and gave a short history of the College. The inaugural address was delivered by the Principal. It, too, was in a measure historical; for it undertook to sketch the history of higher education in Nova Scotia. In it for the second time (the first was half a century before, in Drs. Baird and Brown's letter to Lord Dalhousie†) the hope, even

* See *Nova Scotian* for Nov. 16th, 1863 for full report.

† See page 12 of this essay.

yet not fully realized, was expressed that schools of Law and Medicine would be affiliated.

We have already said that at the passage of the Act there seems to have been but little opposition offered; but that when only the Presbyterians were found to take advantage of its provisions the fight began.

In the House of Assembly, Mr. Longley, member for Annapolis, in the session of 1864, moved that the Act be repealed, and the College endowments otherwise appropriated; and also that the loan of £5000 be required from the Governors. Dr. Tupper was then leader of the Government, and had it in his power to pass Mr. Longley's resolutions. He was threatened by that gentleman with the loss of the Baptist support and consequent defeat if he did not do so. But nothing daunted, Dr. Tupper flung himself into the contest, and with all a young politician's ardour, fought Dalhousie's battle. In concluding the first of three speeches delivered in the course of the debate, he said:—"Let me tell him (Mr. Longley) that attached as I am to the great party with which I am connected—possessing, as I may confess I do, some fondness for public life, I would infinitely prefer the fate which he threatens to the highest post my country can offer, if it must be purchased by an act so unpatriotic, so unjust, as the resolution which he has moved would involve." Whatever opinion may be entertained of the general tenor of Sir Charles Tupper's public conduct, whether he be regarded as the greatest political saint or sinner in Canada, whether his be a name to conjure with or to execrate, we assert that the manner in which he acted in this matter throughout entitles him to the respect of the most unreasoning of his opponents, and the warmest admiration of his friends. We venture to say that when he shall have retired from politics, his share in the establishment and onward progress of a grand Institution will afford him as much satisfaction as the proudest of his political triumphs. Mr. Longley's resolution was defeated by a vote of 30 to 14, and never since has the existence of Dalhousie been seriously endangered.

With the description of this, the first battle, fought over Dalhousie on its present basis, our history naturally ends. Henceforward he who runs may read the story of Dalhousie's reverses and triumphs, as it is written in the columns of the daily papers, or the pages of the annual calendars. If we look at the progress made year by year, we may feel disappointed that it is so slight; but if we compare the Dalhousie of to-day with the Dalhousie of 1863, we are inspired with a thankfulness too deep for words. Many times the wheels of her car of progress seemed to be clogged, and there were not wanting timid friends to shout after it "stop;" but if we glance ever so hurriedly at the details, we shall see that she has steadily moved on. The mariner may not realize that he is in one of the ocean currents, but all the same, he is rapidly being borne along. So we may have failed, if we were watching year by year, to observe anything remarkable in her growth; but a closer examination shows what strides forward she has made and how far she has extended her usefulness. In 1863, there were sixty students enrolled; in 1887, one hundred and seventy,—the number almost trebled in a score of years. A staff of six professors has given way to one of eleven with two tutors and eight lecturers. Two of the original six are living the "life Elysian, whose portal we call Death;" the others remain each year adding to the number of pupils by whom they will be held in grateful remembrance. Buildings that at first were ample have grown too small, and have to be abandoned for others as commodious, if not as elegant, as those of any

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University in Canada. Too poor at first to hold out any monetary attractions to youths whose means would not permit of their obtaining a college training, she now each year offers \$4,200 in exhibitions and bursaries to deserving students. Sorely in want of funds in her early years, her Chancellor of the Exchequer had frequently to meet the Governors to report a deficit; but thanks to George Munro's princely liberality all money difficulties have been smoothed away. Without library, museum, or apparatus, she began work. To-day she has a library of 2,500 volumes; a museum containing what Andobon pronounced "the finest collection of native birds in America;" and apparatus more valuable than that of any two other colleges in the Province. Surrounded in her infancy by enemies, who pointed the finger of scorn at her, who hoped for her failure, and prophesied her downfall, she has lived down all opposition. Unknown beyond the narrow limits of the Province in 1863, it was from her faculty that in 1882 the members of the Royal Society of Canada for Nova Scotia were chosen. Her influence not felt at home for a time after her organization, by the ability of her professors and the success of her students she has become a power for good in the land. Her graduates are scattered far and wide, filling positions of prominence in every profession and occupation. With a few exceptions, these men, young yet but rising with the increase of their years, are a credit to their Alma Mater, and living witnesses to the excellence of her work. Let these graduates, in whom the hope of the University is, be mindful of the efforts made by the Dalhousies, Kempts, Archibalds, Howes, and Huntingdons of a past, the Munros, McLeods, and Youngs of the present day; let them be inspired by the lives and examples of the two former principals, who being dead, yet speak through the glorious heritage of their names; let them be determined to do their part in giving their Alma Mater a name and a fame among the Colleges of the world. Let their words regarding her be, while their actions testify to their sincerity,—

"Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee;
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee."

Then, if the doctrine of the survival of the fittest be true of colleges, it will not be long till gathered around Dalhousie shall be the remains of the colleges that now retard the progress of higher education in this Province; and as a product of the union there shall arise a Dalhousie, united, fully equipped, and liberally endowed,—strong in the affection and love of the people of Nova Scotia.

APPENDICES.

A.

The poet, Allan Ramsay, was a member of the family, and of Lord Dalhousie's father he had written :—

"Boast of Ramsay's clanish name,
Dalhousie of an auld descent ;
My pride, my stoup, my ornament."

Lord Dalhousie's eldest son was the most celebrated of the family. As Governor-General of India he gained for himself the greatest glory and a place alongside, if not above, the Lawrences and Clives who had occupied the same position.

B.

LIST OF STUDENTS.

Students who completed a full Arts Course at Dalhousie College when under the Presidency of Thomas McCulloch, D.D. :—

JAMES R. FORMAN became a civil engineer, and has been long employed as such in Great Britain, where his career has been successful. Resides in Scotland.

JOSEPH HOFFMAN.—His father a doctor in Halifax ; entered the British Navy as a midshipman, and passed up successfully to obtain his commission, but soon after died of fever in the West Indies.

HOWARD D. STEELE became a clergyman of the Presbyterian Church, and as such laboured at Bridgewater and Cornwallis in this Province, and in various parts of Ontario. Has since joined the Church of England.

ISAAC MORROW entered mercantile life with the late John Duffus, who was his uncle. Was sometime in Australia. Died a few months ago at _____, where he was engaged in business.

GEORGE C. CROWE, son of the Rev. T. S. Crowe, of Maitland, went to the United States, where he became a Presbyterian minister.

Students who having commenced their course under Dr. McCulloch at Pictou Academy finished at Dalhousie College :—

ALEX. SUTHERLAND, Presbyterian minister at Earlton and Scotsburn, in this Province, and at New London, P. E. Island, now stationed at Ripley, Ontario.

A. C. McDONALD, Esq., Barrister at Pictou, M. P. for the County of Pictou, 1859-63, and Speaker of the House of Assembly.

SAMUEL McCULLY, for a time Presbyterian minister, now an insurance agent.

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ROD. SUTHERLAND.—Studied medicine. On obtaining his diploma, settled in Pennsylvania, believed to be still living.

GEORGE PATTERSON.—A Presbyterian clergyman, a Doctor of Divinity from Princeton, author of several works.

ROBERT GRANT.—For some time preacher in connexion with the Presbyterians, afterwards with the Congregationalists. Author of "Lecture on Robert Burns," and "Life of George R. Young."

Students who took part of their course at Dalhousie College at this time :—

JAMES THOMSON, now barrister at Halifax, Queen's Counsel, lecturer on Real Estate and Conveyancing in the Dalhousie Law School.

GEORGE THOMSON and **CATHCART THOMSON**, Merchants in Halifax.

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD, son of the Master of the Rolls, died young.

WILLIAM and **JAMES BAZALGETTE**, sons of Colonel Bazalgette then holding the office of———. They both entered the army. One of them distinguished himself at the battle of Alma, carrying the colours of his regiment (I believe the 42nd Highlanders), and though wounded, grasped the staff in his arms and still pressed forward.

W. H. ROACH.—His father flour inspector at Halifax. Became a minister of the Church of England.

MAURICE MOORE.—His father Quarter Master of the 23rd R. W. Fusiliers. Was in Halifax in 1809 with the regiment, and the only man in it then who came back with it in 1839. The son, I believe, entered the army.

JAMES FRASER, known as the "Big Fraser" of that epoch. Belonged to Miramachi. Studied law with Mr. Street, then Solicitor General of New Brunswick. Just when he had completed his course, the Assembly being dissolved, Mr. Street, then residing in Fredericton, sent or requested Fraser to go down to his old constituency of Northumberland to canvass for him. Fraser in the course of his canvass ingratiated himself with the Scotch element in the County which was rather strong, and resolved to become a candidate himself, and before Mr. Street knew what he was doing he had made quite a party for himself. He was defeated, but polled a good vote. He afterwards practised at his native place, and subsequently at Moncton, where he died.

ERROL BOYD.—Entered a merchant's office in Halifax, but died young.

CHARLES (?) HILL.—A native of Halifax. Went to Java.

H. R. MCKENZIE.—A surveyor in Cape Breton. Author of a map of Cape Breton. Resides in Sydney, C. B.

WILLIAM ALLAN, son of Wm. M. Allan, Halifax, believed to have died early.

SAMUEL HEAD.

ROBERT LIDDELL.—Went away in a whaling vessel, and died on the Pacific Ocean.

——— **CHILDE.**—Believe an Episcopal clergyman in the United States.

——— **MCNAB.**

"As I only attended two years out of four there were doubtless quite a number more that I did not meet."

C.

Summary of the return of the Dalhousie Collegiate School from its commencement on 10th April, 1849, to 1st February, 1850:

	No. of pupils enrolled.	No. of pupils left.
First term.....	74	3
Second ".....	14	9
Third ".....	13	4
Fourth ".....	16	1
Total.....	100	17

	No. in attendance.
First term.....	71
Second ".....	76
Third ".....	85
Fourth ".....	100

Of these 4 were free pupils.

Average age 12. Average attendance 87.

RELIGIOUS PERSUASIONS.

Presbyterians.....	44	Episcopalians.....	28
Catholics.....	18	Methodists.....	13
Baptists.....	7	Universalists.....	5
Independents.....	1	Sandemanian.....	1

STUDIES.

Latin, 31; Greek, 2; French, 38; Spanish, 9; English Reading, 94; English Grammar, 67; History, 86; Geography, 93; Physiology, 47; Algebra, 11; Trigonometry, 8; Navigation, 2; Geometry, 15; Arithmetic, 99; Mental Arithmetic, 100; Globes, 39; Music, 99; Phonographic Shorthand, 48; Printing, 47.

The above summary will be found in an appendix to the Journals for 1850. We had not discovered it when our account of the school during the time it covers was written.

D.

M. D'Utassy was one of the adroitest of rogues. The story of his life as related in the New York papers after his disgrace is more romantic than any of Jules Verne's novels. The *Nova Scotian* for June 28th, 1863, contains a two-column account of him, which is most interesting reading.

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